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ABSTRACT

The federal government role is significant in the San Francisco vocational education system which has two primary delivery systems--the San Francisco Unified School District (SFUSD) and Community College District (SFCCD). The SFUSP is hampered by the city's pluralistic and decentralized governance approach. Although the state was not irrelevant in establishment of local education policy, vocational education program development primarily bears the imprint of internal political, social, and economic factors. The future of secondary vocational education is not encouraging, considering the increasingly dominant role of comparatively well-financed community colleges. In apparent contrast to the contractive process in the SFUSD is the recently developed School of Business and Commerce. It was designed, however, primarily as a last-ditch measure to gather and maintain SFUSD's outstanding vocational education resources. SFUSD's present program limitations and future financial constraints have enabled SFCCD to dominate vocational instruction through its dual delivery systems: the main community college campus and decentralized college centers and satellites. Vocational Education Act funding is largely a supplement for the two local delivery systems. It also carries the adverse impact of distracting local administrators from their primary responsibililties. While providing supplemental vocational training, Comprehensive Employment and Training Act programs are weakened by vast resource scattering. (YLB)

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Vocational Education and Federal Policy in San Francisco

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February 18, 1981

Prepared for the Vocational Education Study Group in the Educational Policy and Organization section of the National Institute of Education.

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Vocational Education and Federal Policy in San Francisco

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San Francisco creates an unusual tapestry of cultural and ethnic diversity nestled in a nonpartisan political environment. The aesthetic richness of this setting notwithstanding, the political institutions which govern it super ede a blended harmony and produce chaos. Central coordination of social services is minimal, and the politics of the city volatile. Indeed, it is general economic stability--and not effective and efficient local governance--which has enabled San Francisco to circumvent the deterioration evident in many other older American cities.

The centrifugal nature of San Francisco's human resource policy is particularly evident in vocational education. Two primary delivery systems, the San Francisco Unified School District and Community College District, compete and provide superb examples of the diverse, ever-changing nature of predominant public institutions in the city. Their own political and economic well-being and interactions with other institutions are unstable and uncertain. SFUSD is pre-occupied with declining enrollments and resources, hemmed in by a state which controls all general operating expenditures and permits no local tax discretion; SFCCD enjoys comparative economic health, but deals with a far less traditional and predictable student constituency.

The Community College District has emerged as a dominant delivery system of vocational eduation in the city. It enjoys a more stable state financial base and can offer a wide variety of training opportunities. Instruction is offered in two distinct settings: the main community college campus and college centers and satellites dispersed throughout San Francisco. The dual community college systems seem likely to continue to expand their predominance over San Francisco vocational education.

Unified School District vocational instruction will continue, as will training programs under the auspices of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Agency, but both will fill comparatively limited roles. The Community Colleges will possess the most elaborate facilities, the most modernized faculty and equipment, and the most sophisticated level of instruction. By contrast, high schools will struggle to minimize program losses and remain a source of introductory vocational instruction.

Tensions between competing systems are evident and likely to be exacerbated in the upcoming decade; mutual knowledge of each other is limited and void of any commitment to blend services. Inter-system frictions and containment of existing secondary programs and, in some cases, contraction, are not problems exclusive to San Francisco, but are special concerns for the city's vocational educators. Population and school enrollment declines have jeopardized public education programs, dilemmas that are compounded by uncertain funding patterns. Vocational education programs are mired in these over-arching problems. Juxtaposed with a pluralistic ethnic base and unreliable local government structures, San Francisco vocational education emerges as a potpourri of programs and courses scattered about the city.

The federal government role in this cavalcade is circumscribed yet significant. It provides a limited but supplemental source of funding for local programs, and promulgates guidelines that often have greater local policy consequences than vague state regulations. Moreover, it provides a distinct vocational training program of its own through CETA. VEA moneys remain a junior partner in San Francisco vocational education funding, but their impact is a discernible supplement. Local actions take into account

federal laws and regulations and their policies reflect them; the federal role transcends that of mere provider of general supplemental assistance. However, local policy decisions are made in tandem with a myriad of other competing interests generated locally; combustible interests which often constrain the role of external participants. This is most evident from a financial standpoint, as the overall fiscal health of the school district is the single greatest determinant of its vocational education quality and access. Federal assistance is a penumbra by comparison; it is one portion of a diverse, competitive picture. Indeed, the eclectic politics of San Francisco are the politics of vocational education in the city as well.[1]

The Unpredictable City: Implications for Vocational Education

The politics of San Francisco are as unpredictable as the ground upon which the city stands. Nonpartisan yet volatile, honest but often inept, the uncertainty of San Francisco politics extends to its educational systems as well. Conflicts over central city commercial development and realigning ethnic patterns tend to overshadow the comparably disparate forces which compete for control of city schools. Nonetheless, San Francisco educational systems are also consistently besieged with a vast array of demands and expectations, many of which cannot be met.[1]

Nearly 660,000 San Franciscans collide over a potpourri of political and economic issues within a relatively compact metropolis of 46.6 square miles. This density is particularly evident in the burgeoning downtown area which serves as headquarters for many of the nation's largest corporations. The downtown section comprises only 3.4 percent of the city's total developed land, but houses nine percent of San Francisco's residents and 50

percent of the business day population. Political and economic attention naturally focus on downtown offices and activities; a former school superintendent observed that "a twenty minute trolley ride gets you there from any part of town," making it impossible for prominent figures to hide within city limits (Cuban, 1976, p. 160). In fact, the importance of the downtown section has only increased in recent years, as its residential population has declined gradually, from 740,316 in 1960 to 658,700 in 1978. (See Table I)

Table I--San Francisco Population

	1950	1960	1970	1972	1974	1976	1977	1978
City Population	775,357	740,319	715,674	689,500	675,600	664,520	654,400	658,700

The San Francisco Unified School District has a ten-member board that is elected by districts. The board is fiscally independent in some ways from the city government, and the state provides all the general operating funding (80 percent from state sources, 20 percent from a de facto state property tax). But the school district must receive city approval for certain expenditures.

Consequently, city bureaucratic procedures impact the school district and are an element of the pluralistic and decentralized city governance approach. The school board is a reflection of the ethnic and neighborhood politics that often hinder consensus on issues. At present, the seven-member board includes one black, one Asian, one Hispanic, and two Jewish individuals. This diversity complicates formulation of a single dominant coalition.

Similarly, downtown institutions and leaders play a prominent but hardly exclusive role in governing the city. Nonpartisan politics in San Francisco is consistently eclectic, with multitudinous interest groups jockeying for position in an unsteady, uncertain competition for resources and influence. The city boasts a consolidated county and city government and lacks the amorphous growth patterns so common in California cities. But it is regularly beset by political confusion that borders on the chaotic. This phenomenon has been illustrated most recently in a seemingly endless battle over format for electing city supervisors. City wide elections were dropped by referendum in favor of district elections in 1977, only to revert to the "at large" procedure once again in September, 1980; yet even this latest turn is uncertain, as voters may be requested to select their preferred format yet again despite reaffirmation of at large support in November, 1980. Such combustibility and uncertainty produce an inertia in all institutions designed to serve San Franciscans. "A mobile is a thing of beauty but hardly functional," contended Frederick Wirt in his exhaustive examination of the politics of San Francisco (Wirt, 1974, p. 11).

The unpredictability of San Francisco governance, from zoning to transportation to education, has only been exacerbated by burgeoning demands for social services. The total San Francisco budget expanded 560 percent over a two-decade period in which population declined 10 percent, yet precious few city constituencies would report satisfaction with present services. Lester Thurow pinpoints a debilitating contemporary American characteristic in which "vigorous objectors to every particular path" grind

power brokers and decision making bodies into an unpleasant gruel that satisfies no one.'(Thurow, 1980, p.10) San Francisco serves as an excellent case in point, replete with competitive individuals and organizations which rarely listen to each other, much less reach any mutually satisfying decisions.

Wirt depicts this process as governance by "temporary coalition," in which interest groups consistently change form and realign in formations found temporarily expedient. "In this diverse community there are many involved in decision making, different combinations of group intersts are at work, many of them are opposed, and so the political environment reveals less of structure than of turbulence," explained Wirt (Wirt, p. 64). Eventually, of course, certain decisions are made. Nonetheless, government officials, private sector leaders, various community constituencies, and, increasingly, external governmental bodies, form a "mèlange of relationships" in which the greatest strength of each group is often the ability to veto the unpopular proposal. As a result, projects unpleasant to certain constituencies can often be blocked; an exasperating concomitant, however, is that virtually all useful activity can be stunted as well.

Traditional decision making sources exist, including Office of Mayor, City Board of Supervisors, and specific service agencies, but these are as fragmented and unpredictable as the city itself. Nonpartisan politics is revered but denies cultivation of an efficient political vehicle to deliver services. The mayor, contends Wirt, "has few formal powers short of appointment and budget making, and even these are limited," and is, when most effective, a "community quarterback" who merges temporary coalitions with some success (Ibid., p. 12). If there is a single decisive factor in

policy making, it is the most self-serving agent of all, the sizable bureaucracy which administers a city budget that expanded nearly six-fold over a two-decade period. Wirt concedes the limited impact each individual agency and bureaucrat can make, but insists that "cumulatively their little decisions make up the totality of public policy." Indeed, the potency of these "little decisions"--which often translate into non-decisions in a bureaucracy preoccupied with survival and relative stability--tend to wrest authority away from the general public and elected leadership. As we shall see, the school systems are largely detached from other governmental entities.

This fragmentation process only accelerates when external agents are added, in the form of federal, state, and regional agencies and regulations. These offer desperately needed revenues and, in some cases, incentives to innovate, but also add supplemental constraints to a system already in need of breathing space. Federal and state programs undeniably have impact, influencing local government decisions and providing otherwise unavailable funding. Nonetheless, they tend to splinter throughout various city constituencies and are either pursued eagerly (revenue sharing and other formula grants) or opposed (school desegregation) by additional temporary coalitions which may have no direct relation to the many other coalescing activities. Regional organizations, meanwhile, have also expanded widely in recent decades and participate in a myriad of San Francisco area activities including land use and planning, transportation, water and air quality, public health, libraries, and recreation. Their effectiveness in influencing policy is inconsistent. However, they do add further competition to an already crowded political setting. Wirt correctly asserts that

the continuous expansion of individuals and organizations which make at least some input into decision making--and non-decision making--produces a segmentation in which "an increasingly smaller proportion of the common agenda now rests autonomously in local hands." (Ibid., p. 344).

This fragmentation becomes further disheveled upon inclusion of private sector concerns and interests, particularly since so many of these are generated from outside the city. Service industries, real estate, finance, and insurance have increasingly emerged as the staples of the San Francisco economy. They have triggered downtown building expansion and opened vast new employment opportunities that have helped compensate for declines in other areas. Like governmental bureaucracies, each private organization has its own agenda, with individual interests to be pursued and unpleasant policies to be toppled. Moreover, many of these institutions deal with national and international constituencies, often forcing regulation of San Franciscan general interest to a subservient level beneath broader mandates.

These complicating factors notwithstanding, major private institutions have helped stem the adverse effects of population and economic decline that have debilitated the resource bases of many frostbelt cities. Indeed, San Francisco economic growth continued steadily during the late 1970s, and the city continues to attract new private firms and abundant tourists. The service industries have simultaneously facilitated and benefitted from this growth, and produced more than 35 percent of the new jobs generated locally in 1978; they provide more than one fourth of the city's total jobs (see Table II). Wholesale and retail trade constitute 17.7 percent of the city's

Table II--San Francisco City and County Labor Market Area

1979

Employment Area	Numbers Employed
Services	136,100
Government	88,100
Finance, Real Estate, Insurance	81,400
Retail Trade	66,100
Transportation, Communication, Utilities	48.400
Manufacturing	47,600
Wholesale Trade	38.800
Construction	20,400

(Source: Chamber of Commerce, 1980)

labor force, with the greatest areas of growth generated by tourism, although overall sales have expanded steadily as well. Finance, insurance, and real estate industries have benefitted from office space expansion and the concomitant decision of major institutions to locate in San Francisco and constitute 14.9 percent of the working population. These areas combined comprise well over half the city's employment, and both ease the decline of manufacturing and construction industries and provide a major source of activity for these declining areas with their demands for office space and equipment. They also provide the target areas for new or expanded vocational education programs. Moreover, commuters, who are major figures in each of the growing economic areas, play an increasing role in the San Francisco economy. Approximately 185,000 individuals commute into the city each weekday morning, their transit facilitated in part by a regional transportation system completed in the early 1970s.

These economic growth areas do, however, attract yet further political tensions, as numerous constituencies regularly battle over downtown development priorities. San Francisco must attempt to appease potential private investors, while maintaining the historic physical beauty of the city so essential to the tourism trade and so vital aesthetically in the eyes of many citizens. As its reputation as a city of corporate headquarters grows, competition for downtown land increases, and frictions over the "Manhattanization" of San Francisco intensify. At present, the city has 50 million square feet of office space and vacancy rates are less than five percent. Projects nearing completion will add 4.2 million more square feet, and planned projects which have official approval will contribute another 7.3 million square feet. Los Angeles, despite a population five times as great as San Francisco and a location on eight times the land area, will only expand its office space at approximately one-fifth the pace of San Francisco (Chamber of Commerce, 1980).

The "Manhattanization" controversy, regularly fought on a building-by-building basis through various channels of government which have advisory and approval authority over any such building proposal, provides excellent illustration of the competing interests involved, few of whom will be assuaged by a specific decision and most of whom will stall and delay any decision. Wirt observed that such land use battles feature conservationists, architects and urban designers, and a variety of community special interest groups, as well as the private and public leaders involved. No answer is simple to arrive at, suggested Wirt, as even economic decisions are not clear cut, both because of the difficulties of weighing the various trade-offs involved in high rise construction and use and the self-serving

nature of the analyses produced by all groups involved (Wirt, p. 14). Regardless of the pace of office expansion it is clear that vocational training must orient itself to this service and paper economy. The manufacturing component is gone for the foreseeable future in San Francisco.

The anxieties of downtown construction are matched only by frictions over ethnic conflict, according to Wirt, who contends that the diverse blend of San Francisco ethnic groups has stimulated significant disharmony. Unlike many major urban centers which can be divided primarily between two or three groups, San Francisco features numerous sizable groups, including white ethnic, black, Latin, and Asian (see Table III). The earlier

Table III--San Francisco Ethnic Composition--Percentages (1970)

District	Black	Japanese	White	Chinese	Am. Ind.	Latin	Filipino	Other
1	3	6	63	15	-	8	4	1
2	6	2	81	3	-	6	1	1
3	1	1	42	49	-	4	2	1
4	39	3	45	3	1	6	2	1
5	17	1	58	2	1	16	4	1
6	6	-	39	2	1	42	7	3
7	38	1	42	1	1	10	5	2
8	11	-	56	4	-	22	5	2
9	24	1	41	2	1	24	5	2
10	1	1	85	3	-	8	1	1
11	2	2	78	5	-	9	3	1
CITY	13	2	57	8	0.4	14	4	1.6

(Chamber of Commerce, 1980)

political and economic domination of Germans, Irish, and Italians has yielded somewhat to more recently arrived groups, but vast discrepancies remain. "While its past and present images emphasize ethnic variety and 'melting pot' harmony, there is much in the city's history to confirm the variety but question the harmony," wrote Wirt (Wirt, p. 34). Moreover, such

disharmony is all the more noticeable in a city such as San Francisco, where the populace is concentrated and brought into regular contact because of heavy downtown usage and interaction. Since 1970 the Asian component has expanded more rapidly than other ethnic groups. Larry Cuban explained that San Francisco ethnic settlements differed greatly from northern and mid-western cities where residential zones were universally understood and maintained. "San Francisco had Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, and black neighborhoods dispersed throughout the city," he wrote. "White, ethnic areas, as such, were districts, but color was present in many areas of the city." (Cuban, p. 81.) Cuban's assertion is substantiated by a view of ethnic distribution, which indicates some ethnic separation but also demonstrates ethnic blending evident on a district-by-district basis (Table III, again, is illustrative). These districts, of course, are constantly in a state of flux, and citizen needs are constantly changing. This diversity, of course, is not a new development for San Francisco--nor a new challenge for San Francisco educators anxious to provide relevant vocational instruction. Indeed, the city has long been a potpourri, with vocational education remaining as corroborative testimony to that depiction.

The California Backdrop

The unique characteristics of San Francisco emerge as even more distinctive when matched against the backdrop of a state tableau legendary for its expansiveness. Growth, both incremental and geometric, has been the hallmark of California; its social services, including its public education programs, have not been exempt from this growth. San Francisco, by contrast, exists almost as a self-contained microcosm within the state, an iconoclast whose patterns of change often deviate from those of the state.

This warrants particular note with regard to education policy. However, broad distinction between the state and its third largest city do not render the state irrelevant in establishment of local education policy.

California Education

Education system development was steady throughout the first two decades of the 20th century, as new schools blossomed throughout California. New schools and districts continued to expand rapidly following the establishment of a State Department of Education in 1921. The California Legislature had empowered the State Board of Education to employ commissioners for elementary, secondary, and vocational education as early as 1913, the latter of the three subject areas comparatively insignificant at the time. It was the creation of a State Department, however, that facilitated program expansion and experimentation, under the broad banners of professionalism and reform.

The State Department of Education concentrated widely dispersed responsibilities in bureaucratized departments and commissions. Coupled with economic and population expansion during the 1920s, California's school system grew rapidly. The Depression devastated many local programs, temporarily stemming the rapid growth of the prior decade, but had a long-term impact of expanding the state and federal role in local education matters. Compulsory county school taxes for educational support were eliminated by constitutional amendment in June, 1933, with funding replacements provided by the state general fund. State influence also was extended to construction of school buildings in 1933; a serious earthquake near Long Beach damaged many schools, produced widespread public concern over

building safety, and resulted in state participation in school building decisions.

Federal funding through the Emergency Education Program launched in 1934 marked a major initial step for federal participation in California education, and helped state school districts return to a growth-oriented environment that began in the late 1930s and continued through the 1960s. Constant reform measures, including state department reorganization, were produced repeatedly at the state level during this period, and constitutional amendments were passed in 1944, 1946, and 1952 that increased and equalized state financial support of public schools. Post-World War II demand for educational services swelled simultaneously with the state's rapidly growing population, and participation in all levels of education continued to grow. District consolidations continued over several decades, reducing the approximate 3,600 districts of 1932 to about 1,200 in 1966. Enrollments, of course, were unaffected by this ongoing restructuring process.

This institutional growth proved complementary to an historic state education receptiveness to reform and experimentation, often before novel measures had been adequately tested. "The state's legislature and other politicians have been quick to embrace almost any idea that circulates in the national marketplace," assessed one recent analysis (Kirst, 1979, p. 18). These initiatives have included PPBS, Cost Effectiveness, Educational Television, Flexible Scheduling, Team Teaching, the School Improvement Programs, and Competency Based Graduation Testing. "Very few of these reforms are ever repealed. They are just added on top of one another, reinforcing the kinds of outside induced change with which the schools'

organizations must cope." San Francisco schools, of course, have been participants in such experiments, if not always in the forefront securing their implementation.

State responsiveness to experimentation has diminished in recent years, however, as enrollments in many areas of the California public school system have begun to erode and once widespread enthusiasm for expansive public education programs has ebbed. California has generally escaped the enrollment plunges of other state school systems, but certain suburbs and cities have faced major enrollment declines, forcing program reductions, and in some cases, school closings. No large locality has suffered more enrollment decline than San Francisco. Concern over basic skills proficiency, court-ordered school desegregation, expanding need for biligual education instruction, and mounting skepticism over public sector investment utility has served to weaken public support for educational funding.

Californians approved local tax referendums at an approximate 70 percent rate in the 1960s, but this diminished to between 30 and 40 percent by the mid-1970s. Proposition 13 in 1978 caused de facto full state assumption of all school funding. No locality may spend more than a state per pupil expenditure limit (except for federal aid). State increases in per pupil expenditures have averaged eight percent and failed to keep pace with inflation; most recent state budget projections suggest the gap between state increase and inflation will widen dramatically. Despite unusually high costs for land and labor, the Serrano school finance court ruling has held San Francisco to a funding increase lower than the state average. High expenditure districts have been "squeezed" so that their expenditure levels can be brought gradually closer to the state median, with San Francisco

particularly vulnerable to such pressures. Consequently, the Unified School District has increased at about 1/2 to 2/3 the 8% annual state average increase per pupil. The state per pupil funding base assures that eventually the full impact of enrollment decline must be absorbed. We estimate that San Francisco will lose about 50% of its pupils from the peak to the bottom of the enrollment cycle.

The Community Colleges, however, are not subject to a per pupil expenditure limit. Their fiscal base can grow with the property tax assessment increases. Despite Proposition 13, statewide assessments have increased 18% per year, caused primarily by new construction and sale of existing property. San Francisco has experienced an office building boom and a significant number of residential sales, and its Community College District has not experienced declining enrollment. Indeed, in such areas as ESL, there are more applicants than pupil spaces. This should not imply that the community colleges have no fiscal problems. It does explain why they are not approaching the fiscal strain of the secondary schools.

California Vocational Education

The ascension of the high school as a major component of the California public school system in the late 19th and early 20th centuries provided a base from which vocational education was initiated and developed in the early decades of the 1900s. Only three California high schools existed in 1885, but more than 130 had been established fifteen years later, and enrolled more than 13,000 students. Each of these schools was supported exclusively by local taxation, although this constraining force was toppled with the passage of a 1902 constitutional amendment that permitted the state

legislature to levy a special state school tax for the support of "high schools and technical schools."

Passage of this amendment represented a major initial step for both the high schools and vocational education in California, providing state funding for the first time as well as elevating the credibility of the institutions. Various experiments with vocational education, often referred to as practical education or manual training in its rudimentary stages, followed in succeeding years, as public support increased for classroom instruction in labor-oriented skills. Vocational education also served as a tool for educators to attempt to combat high dropout rates, as the minimal curricular applicability to many professions was deemed a major contributor to premature departure from school. Dismal retention was a major concern as only ten percent of the 47,000 students enrolled in state high schools in 1910 were expected to graduate. Superintendent of Public Instruction Edward Hyatt lauded the development of "the introduction of practical subjects and practical methods of teaching which will hold the boys, particularly, in school until they have a fair education." (California State Department of Education, 1979, p. 8).

Both houses of the California Legislature attempted to strengthen state support for vocational education with various funding proposals, but these were spurned by Governor Hiram Johnson, who wanted to avoid state participation in a costly and comprehensive educational experiment, particularly during a period of economic retrenchment. Undeterred by the unproductivity of state legislative efforts, the State Board of Education articulated its approval of potential distribution of federal funding for vocational education with the 1915 passage of a resolution that supported a

policy of granting federal aid to states to expand vocational education programs. This tailored harmoniously with the 1917 passage of the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act and underwrote much subsequent vocational education growth.

Congressional approval of Smith-Hughes occurred at a time when California high schools enrolled approximately 125,000 students. Local taxation provided more than 90 percent of the funding for high school costs, with total state support funds comprising less than $1 million. The federal entry into vocational education, much of it focused on war-related projects, fostered rapid growth; sixteen newly-developed vocational training centers enrolled nearly 16,000 trainees by the end of 1918. California vocational education enrollment, as well as federal support, grew rapidly during the following three decades, with only intermittent slowdown in expansion of programs. (See Table IV) Trades, industries, home economics, and, eventually, distributive education, replaced agriculture as the predominant concerns for vocational instruction in the state. Simultaneously, California's population consistently expanded, from 6,907,387 in 1940 to 10,586,223 in 1950; moreover, the decade of the 1940s also included extensive development of a system of numerous tuition-free public junior colleges and a statewide, state-supported arrangement for free adult education, which enabled vocational instruction to extend into new institutions.

Table IV--California Vocational Education Enrollment and Amounts of Federal Aid: 1920-21--1969-70

Year	Tot. Cal. Enroll.	Pct. Ntl. Enroll.	Agric.	Trades & Indus.	Home Ec.	Federal Aid	Percent Natl. Aid
1920-21	11,823	4.0	1,097	3,964	6,762	$ 40,647	2.7
1925-26	45,884	6.0	2,537	28,927	14,420	$ 188,381	2.8
1931-32	73,713	6.8	7,900	45,473	20,340	$ 334,501	3.9
1935-36	88,769	7.0	7,147	50,529	31,093	$ 416,502	4.0
1940-41	214,090	8.9	10,313	92,997	88,515	$ 806,641	3.6
1945-46	230,750	10.3	22,531	89,952	96,201	$ 921,860	4.2
1950-51	415,388	12.4	17,729	104,853	229,509	$ 1,007,489	3.9
1955-56	311,411	9.1	17,840	109,244	129,417	$ 1,620,977	5.0
1960-61	438,753	11.3	18,187	133,637	147,455	$ 2,412,828	4.8
1965-66	748,009	12.3	21,171	163,819	142,455	$17,083,644	7.0
1969-70	908,010	10.7	39,552	101,209	187,371	$27,563,603	7.8

(Source: California State Department of Education, 1979, pp. 18, 21, 28, 37, 49, 69)

Geometric growth of enrollment and programs abated during the 1950s, partially because the economy was outgrowing the labor force and reducing the need for specialized training as a requisite to employment. The enrollment record of 415,388 vocational students established in 1950-51 descended precipitously, to 259,070 within two years as veterans rapidly entered an expanding workforce. The remainder of the decade, however, featured a gradual return to post-World War II enrollment levels, and served as a base for programs and enrollments to expand cataclysmically in the 1960s.

Indeed, the years between 1960 and 1970 broadened and, in many respects, restructured the face of vocational education programs offered in California. One major change was in sheer numbers: participants, programs, and revenues allocated to vocational education instruction. During the decade, enrollments more than doubled, climbing from slightly more than 400,000 to nearly one million, and local school district expenditures for vocational education increased from $18 million in 1960 to more than $50

million in 1970. Occupations served by vocational education increased four-fold, and federal allocations for vocational programs increased ten-fold, soaring from less than $2.5 million in 1960 to more than $27 million in 1970. The state, however, has never had a categorical or fiscal earmark for vocational education. Vocational education must be supported from standard ADA apportionments even though it is a high cost program.

The sixties were significant in that they marked explosive growth of the state junior college system. A series of legislative acts placed the junior colleges within their own separate governance system, and at a status equivalent to California's state university and college system and the University of California. State junior colleges, renamed community colleges in 1970, instructed approximately 75 percent of the freshman and sophomore students enrolled in public and private institutions of higher education, with approximately half of these participating in vocational programs. Enrollment and federal funding to California vocational education continued to expand during the 1970s, as community colleges had arrived on comparable footing with public secondary schools in vocational education enrollment (see Table V).

Table V

PROJECTED ENROLLMENTS IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, 1979-1981

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS*	1979-80		1980-81	
	Secondary	Postsecondary	Secondary	Postsecondary
Agricultural education	62,435	28,565	62,827	28,959
Business-office education	355,582	286,840	361,940	298,205
Consumer and homemaking education	217,826	62,629	220,036	66,052
Distributive education	42,856	138,056	44,539	152,219
Health occupations education	23,437	70,364	23,556	74,150
Home economics-related occupations	21,163	51,213	23,490	56,613
Industrial arts education	267,313	239	316,886	72
Technical education	-0-	101,145	-0-	110,919
Trade and industrial education	188,856	224,326	181,649	224,747
SUBTOTAL OF PROGRAM ENROLLMENTS	1,179,468	963,377	1,234,923	1,011,936
Vocational work experience programs (included in program totals shown above)	(44,222)	-0-	(65,037)	-0-
GRAND TOTAL OF ENROLLMENTS IN SECONDARY, POST-SECONDARY, VOCATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS	2,142,845		2,246,859	

(Source: California State Department of Education, 1980)
NOTE: Projections represent data obtained from the California Occupational Information System, available for the first time.
*A student participating in a vocational class throughout the school year constitutes one enrollment.

San Francisco Vocational Education

The development of education and vocational education policies in California undeniably shaped many aspects of the San Francisco vocational education system. This is particularly true as state funding for local programs expanded and overall state administrative authority grew as well. Nonetheless, San Francisco vocational education program development

primarily bears the imprint of internal political, social, and economic factors. It does not directly parallel state growth patterns and cataclysmic vocational education expansion following World War II and during the 1960s.

Vocational education, indeed, has hardly been a bellwether of stability within a public school system beset by turmoil. Program development has often been haphazard and rarely innovative, and private sector participation has ranged from marginal to non-existent. The future for vocational instruction at the secondary level is hardly an encouraging one, particularly considering persistent budgetary constraints and the increasingly dominant role of comparatively well-financed community colleges. Public and vocational education in San Francisco have rarely enjoyed firm, consistent public support.

The expansion of the San Francisco public school system paralleled the pattern for the city's economic and population growth, and elementary schools gradually multiplied during the latter half of the 19th century. San Francisco established a Boys' High School in 1856 and a Girls' High School eight years later; an Industrial School was opened in 1858, although this served primarily as a reform school for delinquents. Vocational education's inception within the San Francisco public school system occurred in 1885, when a commercial department was developed at the Boys' High School; the curriculum was well received and the department acquired the status of a two-year school, identified as Commercial High School, within a year. This rapid development of the first city vocational program at the secondary level was "undoubtedly related to the general feeling, expressed in the late 1870s and early 1880s, that public schooling should be made relative to

experiences of the working world." (Weir, 1980, p. 400) Widespread support for more practical public instruction secured a harmonious reception for initial vocational training experimentation. Moreover, preliminary instruction did not require acquisition of substantial amounts of new equipment and its rudimentary nature did not threaten organized labor with an influx of skilled workers. Labor would often perceive vocational education as a threatening influence in subsequent decades but initially withheld any opposition.

Manual training instruction included instrumental drawing and woodworking and was inserted into some San Francisco schools in subsequent decades, but most of the vocational-oriented instruction occurred in the Commercial High School. The institution was shuffled between four separate locations during its first half-century, one of the sites destroyed in the 1906 earthquake and fire. Vocational curriculum was gradually expanded, but general education courses were introduced as well, and the Commercial High School evolved into a comprehensive high school until its 1952 closing. Although it offered a more diverse curriculum and placed higher expectations on its students than the Industrial School, Commercial High School was designed for students deemed unlikely candidates for post-elementary academic success. This was evident even in its initial stages; "parents' insistence on additional education for children who did not meet purely academic high school qualifications was a source of pressure leading to the establishment of the Commercial High School" (Weir, 402).

Indeed, the alternative of the polytechnic school was launched to provide vocationally-oriented instruction to students perceived as highly capable of success either in the workplace or in an academic environment.

San Francisco inaugurated this approach with establishment of Polytechnic High School in 1911, with the stated intent of providing "modern progressive education leading either to the university or more directly to practical life work." The school attracted a districtwide constituency of 1,000 students by 1916, 60 percent of whom were boys, and offered courses that included cooking, woodworking, ceramics, art, sewing, machine shop, dressmaking, millinery, foundry, and drawing. Polytechnic remained a leader in providing this type of alternative instruction for two decades. However, other San Francisco schools gradually adopted features of its diverse curriculum and Polytechnic eventually lost its distinctiveness.

The model of Polytechnic notwithstanding, the overall growth of public vocational education in San Francisco was gradual. Public manual training had emerged as an accepted feature of San Francisco public schools by the second decade of the Twentieth Century. But more substantive training was difficult to implement. Weir assessed:

> The issue of establishing 'trade training' in conjunction with the public schools was a question which appears not to have been put on the agenda of school politics. Local business leaders, who elsewhere were often active in pushing for public trade schools, instead focused their energies on the privately-endowed trade schools. The shift from "manual training" to "vocationalism" would not occur until the 1930's in San Francisco and even then vocational training in the industrial trades was a tightly-reined experiment conducted on a small scale.
> (Weir, 1980, "Manual training and technical education in the SF public schools," p. 14)

San Francisco public vocational education was largely confined to what Superintendent Alfred Roncovieri (1903-22) termed "technical education." The programs were superficial and posed no threat to labor-supported apprentice programs. The federal entry into vocational education, through the 1917 Smith-Hughes Act, did not produce dramatic changes; trade

extension evening school classes were the sole San Francisco vocational initiative to result from the legislation.

The employment market contraction caused by the Depression did create an atmosphere more amenable to vocational education. Students found fewer work opportunities and elected to prolong enrollment in schools; labor witnessed "the collapse of the apprentice system in many industrial trades . . . and the restriction of immigration quotas, which decreased the number of skilled tradesmen coming from the Old World." (Weir, 1980. p. 524) Such circumstances forged former adversaries into mutual supporters of public vocational education, and culminated in the 1937 opening of the Samuel Gompers Trade School.

The Gompers School offered vocational instruction unprecedented in San Francisco, and was available to youths and adults in both day and evening trade classes. Programs were far more rigorous than predecessors, although they were quickly subsumed in turmoil. Less than a half-decade after its inception, the Gompers principal was dismissed for alleged misconduct. In addition, World War II labor requirements forced a radical curriculum redesign, which dismantled day classes and pre-apprentice classes for high schools. Struggles for control ensued and created "an administrative morass." A 1944 school survey known as the Hill Report bore striking resemblance to documents which would characterize contemporary San Francisco vocational education: central authority was nonexistent; competing service systems overlapped in provision of some training needs and were delinquent in provision of others. Despite these inadequacies, no definitive postwar mandate developed to produce a sound, ably-governed base of vocational education. Weir illustrated the unlikelihood of cohesion:

> Union opposition to school control of apprentice training prevented the school department from moving in this direction. Nor was there much pressure from the business community to establish trade training: the needs of San Francisco business were more for office and service sector personnel, reflecting the change in San Francisco's industrial base. In postwar San Francisco, apprentice training was carried out under the direction of unions while the school system provided a less specialized program of vocational education which would not channel students into union-controlled occupations. (Weir, 532)

The politics of San Francisco vocational education became no less contentious as the 1950s began. Conflicts became progressively divisive, intensified by changes in the city's economic base and gradual shift to a service-oriented economy. Vocational education remained overshadowed by other more prominent issues. Vocational curriculum changed gradually, with secondary instruction dispersed in comprehensive high schools. Gompers' flagship status eroded, but its apparent successor, the John O'Connell School of Technology never acquired the stature of more prestigious vocational schools, such as those in Chicago. Community colleges acquired increasing responsibility for more sophisticated instruction that was relevant to direct employment. Nonetheless, San Francisco vocational education remained a largely immobilized creature, capable of some noteworthy achievement but demonstrating that weaknesses detected in the postwar Hill Report lingered more than a quarter-century later.

SAN FRANCISCO UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

The eclectic politics of San Francisco reflect accurately upon the politics of its public education system. In fact, San Francisco public education mirrors many aspects of the city: its diversity, political unpredictability, and increasing concerns over resource decline. This

has been most evident within the Unified School District, where severe financial shortages have mandated numerous program and staff reductions, and leave minimum optimism for service improvement in the 1980s.

A notoriously bureaucratized education administration governs SFUSD, but burgeoning, competing demands make their claims on education as in other areas of city social services. The pluralistic administrative system is aided by an elected Board of Education that is not responsible to the Mayor or City Council. However, elected city officials do not refrain from statements which decry the low quality of public education and its deleterious effect on the city economy. Indeed, the characterization of a "mèlange of relationships," which Wirt adduced as an appropriate metaphor for city political illustration, can easily be extended to the politics of education as well. "The closed system of education policy making of another era is collapsing under external and internal forces," contended one observer (Kirst, 1970, p. 1). The San Francisco Unified School District underscores the legitimacy of such a contention; layer upon layer of bureaucracy engages in combat, local groups make consistently greater demands, federal and state authorities play an increasingly potent role in policy making. These tensions are further exacerbated by dramatic enrollment and resource decline, which makes retrenchment the byword of the system.

Policy making inconsistency has been reflected in the revolving chair of the superintendency that has followed the denouement of the 12-year reign of Harold Spears in 1966. Larry Cuban's extensive study of major city school superintendency characterizes Spears as sitting amidst an increasingly acrimonious school system; the swelling intensity of this environment is further evidenced in the fact that five individuals have shuffled through

the position since Spears' resignation. Those who departed shared common ineffectiveness despite distinctive administative styles. "The development of different conceptions of superintendent leadership . . . can be seen as one kind of survival device to stake out a protective perimeter within which they could function," explained Cuban. They were not, however, sufficient to remain atop the morass of San Francisco public education. The greatest exception to the revolving-door pattern of superintendency has been the present chief administrator, Robert Alioto, who remains at the helm seven years after receiving a mandate to bring some semblance of order to the system. Alioto has moved successfully to achieve some centralized control to LEA operations, but his latitude is increasingly circumscribed by dwindling resources and a history of competing sources of influence.

The contemporary instability of San Francisco public school governance is partially attributable to the amorphous bureaucracy which a chief administrator is expected to oversee. Perhaps analogous to other major city school bureauracies, San Francisco nonetheless replicates the components that tend to paralyze the city's government. The Unified District features myriad-like branches, largely self-contained and unresponsive to most external authorities except those which provide funding for perpetuation of each branch; federal participation, for example, scatters resources among coalitions that formulate at many levels, further facilitating system fragmentation. "Immensely ingrown features and a record of poor schools" is the legacy of this monolith, according to Wirt (Wirt, p. 292). "Offices were most often circumscribed by the source of their funding," concluded Erlach's analysis of the school system (Erlach, 1972, p. 193). Wirt adds that examination of the Unified School District, from the standpoint of the

federal government as it attempts to probe various branches and determine appropriate procedures for administration of aid programs, illustrates the relative autonomy of many components of the local bureaucracy and the overall inertia of governance. He explained:

> One finds multilevel governmental factions in a vertical--but not hierarchical--structure, who focus on their own expertise, clients, and federal funds. Specialists on libraries, vocational education, reading, language training, paraprofessional teacher programs--each constellation mobilizes special cohorts of the San Francisco school district, the state school administration, regional offices of the U.S. Office of Education, and USOE divisions in Washington. Penetrating any one of these professional-governmental vertical structures are factions that differ over questions of the effectiveness of policy, the distribution of resources, and the maintenance of status and power (Ibid., pp. 289-90).

Principals and teachers participate in this power distribution as well, despite their relatively meager status within the vertical structures of administration. The individual school principal is "suspended in the void between the central administration and the teacher," contends one analyst, and is repeatedly "snagged" by central office routines (Erlach, p. 194). This centrally imposed confinement extends only in part to curricular decisions and instruction, because some decisions are made at the school site. Curriculum content does not rank among the more controversial topics which perplex the district, and the central administration has generally abdicated responsibility for instruction to individual teachers and local school administrators. This uncharacteristically clear delegation of authority, paradoxically, only tends to complicate matters further. Teachers are charged with instructional responsibility, but have virtually no input on course-related policy matters that are determined at higher levels of the vertical structures throughout the district--and have such

influence on their responsibilities and effectiveness (Erlach, 1972). This paradox is particularly evident in recent years of financial constriction, as faculty deployment is geared toward seniority rather than local manpower demand.

Institutional survival has been the preoccupation of the Unified School District during the late-1970s, as declining enrollments and revenue sources have combined to devastate many programs. Public school enrollment peaked at 89,355 in 1960 and remained fairly stable for a decade, but has descended precipitously since 1970 (see Table VI). This has further debilitated a system hardly modeled for its effectiveness before such cutbacks had to be initiated. Indeed, the problems of retrenchment have only been made more painful by their administrative prolongation despite the inevitability of large scale reduction apparent several years ago. California's state fiscal formulas phase out completely payments for enrollment loss after three years. The initial result has been collapse of numerous instructional areas, and a tendency for system-wide concerns to be abandoned further as the vertical structures observed by Wirt are most concerned with their own survival. Morale has subsequently plummetted along with the capacity of administrators to generate innovative responses to their altered circumstances. "Little systematic effort was made to defend the job the district was doing or to prevent revenues from being cut," explained one analysis. "San Francisco administrators and teachers did coalesce, but they did so to try and recover lost positions rather than stop the losses from occurring in the first place." (Duke, 1980, p. 11.)

Table VI

San Francisco Public School Enrollment

(1950-78)

	1950	1960	1970	1972	1973	1976	1977	1978
Enrollment	70,728	89,355	86,672	78,829	71,298	68,736	65,347	63,885

(Chamber of Commerce, 1980)

The belated consideration of the enrollment-funding decline issue only served to make the timing of Proposition 13 exceptionally damaging to San Francisco schools. The Superintendent's mid-1978 analysis of district finances revealed a revenue loss of $20.7 million for 1978-79. Passage of the Proposition slashed property tax revenues by $82.6 million, and state categorical aid was cut by $1.5 million. Compensatory money from the state amounted to only $63.4 million. Moreover, as these supplemental funds from the state surplus declined, the Unified School District faced even more substantial revenue losses. Under Serrano, San Francisco is considered a wealthy school district and state aid has been cut back accordingly.

The District response has been two-fold: restructure existing programs to economize where possible and make major cutbacks in many administrative and faculty personnel areas. Initial program alteration included plans to consolidate ten elementary schools and twenty-one day-care facilities, and transfer $3 million intended for a central nutritional complex to the general fund, and application of pressure on the City of San Francisco to assume responsibility for children's day-care facilities and recreation programs.

Staff reduction had the most vivid immediate impact, however. The certificated staff was reduced by 464 members, including all limited contract and long-term substitutes, while central office administrators were reduced by 50 percent, with elimination of positions for 19 elementary school principals and all 20 assistant elementary principals. Instructional support staff were decimated, as 18 special education and 22 reading resource teachers were returned to classroom duties, and 314 classified staff positions were eliminated, including custodial, maintenance, and clerical personnel areas. Summer school classes (except for special education and remedial purposes), the curriculum service support staff, transportation for all district alternative schools, day-to-day substitutes, after-school recreation programs, and free community use of school facilities were also eliminated. The early years of the 1980s promised continued reductions of sizable import, both in enrollment and staffing. Vocational education, of course, has not been exempt from this turmoil, nor is it likely to be in the years ahead.

Unified School District Vocational Education

The unpredictability of vocational education instruction within the San Francisco public schools has remained a reflection of the volatile city political and educational enterprises.

In fact, the policy orientation that has guided the administration of district programs since the inception of sizable enrollment declines and budget reductions is particularly evident in vocational education. Some long-time vocational education specialists have left the central administration, and the job of district vocational education coordinator has been combined with other troubleshooting duties of a handpicked special

assistant to the Superintendent. The district is unable to keep pace with the community college programs, due to limited resources and staff inflexibility. It has responded to this competitive dilemma by providing a range of programs designed to meet the needs of diversely talented and interested students that are likely to weather continued competition from the community colleges (see Table VII). These programs include two

TABLE VII--Student Enrollment in Vocational Courses
San Francisco Unified School District--Secondary--1979-80

Program	Male	Female	White	Hispanic	Black	Filipino	Asian	Other
Landscaping	16	2	5	2	5	3	3	0
Hotel & Lodging	9	25	5	9	14	5	0	0
Petroleum	30	0	7	6	0	4	11	0
Recreation & Tourism	17	18	13	3	7	0	3	0
Health Occupations	22	73	10	9	22	11	43	0
Child Development	6	120	23	15	65	8	14	1
Clothing & Textile	10	451	42	29	237	33	109	3
Consumer Education	134	129	58	26	80	18	80	1
Family Relations	1	7	1	1	4	1	0	1
Foods & Nutrition	280	417	80	48	424	47	97	1
Housing & Home Furn.	7	12	1	4	12	1	0	1
Accounting & Computing	176	330	67	35	151	57	195	1
Data Processing	42	121	13	15	36	42	56	1
Filing, Office Mach., Clerical	323	580	100	105	340	98	265	5
Stenography, Secretarial, Related	6	145	14	30	42	23	41	1
Typing & Related	402	1042	186	208	318	229	495	8
Appliance Repair	25	1	7	13	4	2	0	0
Auto Mechanics								
Aviation Occupations	77	1	14	36	7	8	13	0
Commercial Arts	29	14	15	17	7	1	3	0
Carpentry	39	2	2	1	3	3	3	0
Painting & Decorating	34	12	9	21	14	1	1	0
Custodial Services	10	2	2	1	3	3	3	0
Drafting	82	12	31	28	22	5	8	0
Electrical Occup.	9	1	4	3	0	0	3	0
Electronic Occup.	78	5	14	19	9	13	28	0
Graphic Arts	30	7	10	10	10	5	2	0
Machine Shop	58	2	13	22	13	6	6	0
Sheet Metal	38	1	19	13	5	1	1	0
Welding/Cutting	70	3	28	30	9	5	1	0
Quantity Food Occup.	38	50	33	14	22	13	6	0
Waiter/Waitress	2	33	11	17	2	3	2	0
Small Engine Repair	34	1	10	12	8	3	2	0
Textile Prod. & Fabrics	0	23	1	15	7	0	0	0
Woodworking	54	5	30	9	13	2	5	0
General Work Exp.	136	110	48	44	99	19	35	1

(San Francisco Unified School District)

institutions which feature strictly vocational curriculum. The newly-opened School of Business and Commerce is designed to recruit the city's outstanding students interested in business and commercial training, and the John A. O'Connell School of Technology is a well-established school which is far less ably equipped and staffed but does provide introduction into static technologies within numerous vocational areas. Comprehensive high schools continue to offer various vocational programs as well, but most of these are designed as introductory in nature. These attempt primarily to expose students to various career options, which presumably they can pursue upon high school graduation by participating in community college programs or seeking training elsewhere. Despite these two vocationally-oriented schools and the programs offered in comprehensive high schools, the Unified School District does not consider itself able to compete with the Community College District, and is likely to maintain a low profile in offering specialized vocational instruction.

"City high schools would require an enormous investment to get vocational programs up to the level offered in the community colleges, perhaps $100 million over a ten-year period," conceded School Superintendent Robert Alioto. Acquisition of such funding seems highly unlikely, particularly considering the remaining obstacles before the district, which include continued staff and program cuts in upcoming years. As a result, the district is committed to maintaining "one special place," its promising new School of Business and Commerce, and most other existing programs. It also hopes to reach an accommodation with the community college district, where possible, on cooperative ventures. Indeed, Unified District administrators negotiated with the Community College District during the developmental stages

of the School of Business and Commerce, but no cooperative arrangement was produced. The school district, nonetheless, elected to launch the new school, despite the significant investments it required. "We wanted one quality school that could offer finished training, and considered this the best way to achieve that goal," observed one administrator.

School of Business and Commerce. The flagship of the Unified School District vocational enterprise is hardly auspicious on first inspection, as it is located in a former elementary school, but offers comparatively sophisticated instruction to the 275 to 350 students who enroll each semester. The present facility could accept approximately 30 percent more students each day, and may eventually house evening school classes. The school presently features an ethnically and demographically diverse student body but would like to more extensively serve the surrounding Chinatown community, including adults. This latter option would undoubtedly cause frictions with the Community College District which operates a College Center in the area, but the detailed programs of the school do seem potentially enticing to an expanded student community.

Enrollment expansion is also encouraged because of the part-time nature of participation in School of Business and Commerce programs. Students divide their time between the school and their local high school, and bus service is provided for students in both morning and afternoon sessions. Effective scheduling between institutions remains a problem and an impediment to rapid enrollment expansion.

The school, indeed, serves as a center for a variety of activities sponsored around the city. Enrollment is limited to juniors and seniors, and approximately 60 percent of the students participate in placement and

internship programs located throughout San Francisco. Many are also often involved in leadership roles within their neighborhood high school. "We do enroll a large number of student leaders, and our students are quite prominent wherever they go," explained one administrator. The school's largest feeder high school, in fact, is Lowell High School, the most academically prestigious public high school in San Francisco. This leads us to wonder if the school is serving a non-college bound clientele that aspires to work after high school graduation, or a more elite college-bound contingent.

Students who participate in School of Business and Commerce programs can choose from a large variety of vocational course offerings, in addition to the experience-oriented opportunities available in conjunction with cooperating local institutions. Current programs include fashion merchandising, advanced accounting, computer programming, keypunch and data entry training, word processing, banking and finance, directory assistance, intensive clerical training, advertising and media skills, and legal and medical secretarial training. The programs are equipped comparably to the Downtown Community College Center, and are designed as rigorous training centers for final or near-final skill development. "This is an advanced curriculum and some skills are expected when new students enter our programs," explained one administrator. Vocational Education Act funding has not been extensive, but has been directed toward some equipment needs of the School of Business and Commerce.

The investment emphasis focused upon the School of Business and Commerce has exacerbated tensions among staff members, as the arrival of the generously-endowed school coincided with the dismantling of many previous vocational programs and dismissal of numerous staff members. "There is a

resentment on the part of the comprehensive high schools, partly because they think the new school is removing their students," explained one district administrator. "Since teacher firings are based on seniority and enrollment, all teachers want students to enroll in their classes. They don't realize, however, that if the need got greater in the new school, teachers would simply be transferred to teach in its programs." Such tensions probably contribute to some extent to the failure of the School of Business and Commerce to achieve a maximum enrollment capacity despite its comparatively outstanding programs. Moreover, cooperative scheduling procedures have remained a problem, as competing expectations of both the specialized school and the local high schools have proved a lingering problem.

The school has attempted to surmount internal frictions--and decreasing flexibility in district staff deployment because of cutbacks--by recruiting faculty with extensive experience in their area of instruction. Junior staff positions are consistently eliminated throughout the District, but the school faculty does have recent work experience, obtained both through sabbatical and summer employment. This enables the curriculum to be more responsive to current occupational expectations than more stagnant programs, and is further enhanced by insertion of some part-time instructors who work in a specific industry, such as computer science. The school attempts to develop such relations with potential instructors wherever possible, and is currently working to establish a motorcycle repair program in conjunction with the San Francisco Police Department. But the long run staffing problem looks precarious. Next year San Francisco expects to lay

off all teachers hired after 1960. Can the requisite vocational teaching skills be found with a staff hired twenty years ago?

Close connections with leading institutions in the private sector serve to supplement instructional effectiveness, both through extensive internship and placement positions with institutions and cooperative instructional ventures provided within the school. Private sector support has undergirded many aspects of the school's curricular development, and approximately 100 local companies support the school either with cooperative training programs or financial support. Diverse local groups, ranging from the Chamber of Commerce to the Teamsters Union played a role in the initial development of the school and remain enthusiastic supporters. "Business seems to like what we're doing and has been very helpful," said one administrator. "One of the advantages of focusing many of our more sophisticated vocational courses into one school has been the enhanced ability to obtain private sector support."

School administrators contend that their programs would benefit further if external cooperation also included the community colleges. "We don't work closely, but do know a great deal about each other," observed one administrator. The emergence of the new school undeniably challenged burgeoning community college domain over sophisticated vocational instruction in the city, and also served as a potential threat to lure away adult students. Approximately 10 percent of the school's enrollment is comprised of adults, but administrators contend this figure is unlikely to expand, largely because adults seem to prefer courses with predominantly adult enrollment, similar to those available through the Community College District. Nonetheless, community college administrators perceive the

school as an unnecessary expansion of school district effort, particularly considering the dire status of many of their other vocational programs. Cooperation has been unobtainable thus far, and program overlap may grow as a concern in upcoming years, particularly if the School of Business and Commerce pursues enrollment and program expansion. "Duplication is not necessarily a bad thing, as long as programs in both places are filled," remarked one college district administrator, cognizant of the potential for commonality of certain programs. At present, the Unified School District remains committed to the concept of maintaining one outstanding vocational institution, regardless of potential overlap and community college response.

O'Connell School of Technology

A single bastion of vocational excellence, however, seems all the district will be able to offer in transcending largely rudimentary vocational instruction during the next decade. The lukewarm commitment of the San Francisco public schools to certain aspects of vocational instruction is illustrated by the presence of only one industrial skill-oriented high school in the city, a marginally-equipped facility that lack modernized curriculum and even basic physical plant maintenance. It cannot match the curricular diversity of community college and center programs, and can be compared with the less distinguished among the fleet of Chicago vocational high schools.

Nonetheless, the John A. O'Connell School of Technology does offer the widest range of programs among San Francisco public schools with vocational instruction, and draws from both a neighborhood constituency and city-wide students who are attracted to vocational instruction. The centrally-

located school has a capacity of 1,400 students and enrolled 1,271 students in the fall quarter of 1979. It also features a diverse ethnic student body, not unique to San Francisco, but nonetheless demonstrative of the school's ability to draw diverse groups (see Table VIII). O'Connell's student body remains predominantly male (81.5 percent in 1979), but has changed significantly from the early 1960s when its studentry was exclusively male. Similar to other vocational programs, sex stereotyping in student class selection seems to be declining, although the overall changes have been gradual.

Table VIII

O'CONNELL STUDENT PROFILE

Percentage Sex, Race

	Boys	Girls	H	OW	B	C	J	K	AI	F	ONW
Total	81.5	18.5	34.3	33.2	15.6	5.5	0.7	0.2	0.3	6.3	3.9
Regular	81.1	18.9	33.3	35.3	16.6	4.8	0.6	0.2	0.4	5.3	3.6
Bilingual	87.5	12.5	48.8	5.0	2.5	15.0	1.3	1.3	0.0	18.8	7.5
Grade 9	83.1	16.9	36.4	26.8	18.8	5.5	0.7	0.0	0.4	8.8	2.6
Grade 10	82.6	17.4	42.3	29.9	11.9	6.5	0.0	0.0	1.0	6.5	2.0
Grade 11	86.0	14.0	33.9	31.8	18.6	3.8	0.0	0.4	0.0	5.5	4.6
Grade 12	83.6	16.4	38.5	32.3	13.3	6.2	0.5	0.5	0.5	3.6	4.6
District Total			15.3	20.2	27.5	19.1	1.5	1.1	0.6	8.7	6.0

(H-Hispanic; OW-Other White; B-Black; C-Chinese; J-Japanese; K-Korean; AI-American Indian; F-Filipino; ONW-Other Non-White)

O'Connell is located within a former automotive assembly plant which was donated to the school district after World War II. It features huge elevators and sizable internal shop spaces ideal for vocational instruction, although classroom space is limited. O'Connell serves as successor to the Samuel Gompers Trade School. Gompers, as noted earlier, attracted a

district-wide student constituency, made attendance optional, and emphasized "curricula to prepare youths for industrial occupations peculiar to the area." (California State Department of Education, 1980, p. 93.) The school suffered, however, from limited school district commitment and gradually deteriorated, until the late 1940s when funding was obtained for a more modern and enlarged vocational school.

This effort led to the opening of O'Connell in 1952. The school presently offers 23 shops during an eight period day. Gompers has ceased to operate in its original state, although it does house five O'Connell shops and served as the site for a ninth grade industrial orientation rotation program during one year. O'Connell requires all applications to be made in person and interviews to be completed with shop instructors to determine qualifications for enrollment in a specific vocational program. It is open to students above the age of 15, including adults. Duration of participation in O'Connell programs varies depending upon the needs of the students, who may earn both high school diplomas and certification in their respective technical areas. High school students generally participate in six school semesters, between the 10th and 12th grades, while adults (approximately 350 enrolled last year) may participate from one month to two years, depending on program requirements and the extent of their participation. Instructional areas include agriculture, electronics, drafting, machine shops, various service occupations, aeronautics, wood construction, plus traditional areas of academic instruction. The largest programs are auto mechanics, airplane technology, electronics, machining, carpentry, cabinet making and welding.

O'Connell enjoys a reputation as a stable, competent institution, perceived as not overly competitive academically but able to provide training that normally leads to regular employment. The school is a rarity in that it keeps close account of the activities of its graduates, and boasts a two-thirds success rate in placing students in areas in which they were trained. One administrator noted, "it has always had that reputation," and also asserted that the school's image is bolstered by its reputation as a physically "safe" place for young people with widely accepted respect for authority by the job oriented students that minimizes institutional tensions. The school also seems to have responded effectively to charges of sex and racial discrimination raised in the mid-1970s on admissions procedures. O'Connell admissions decisions were formerly made by shop teachers, but since 1977 the school administration has taken responsibility for these decisions, based on grades and standardized test scores. Virtually all applicants are accepted although students with highest entry scores receive first choice of shop program. The new admissions procedures have had little impact on ethnic diversity, although male domination of enrollment has declined from near-total in the early 1960s to eighty percent in 1980.

Nonetheless, numerous limitations are imposed upon the effectiveness of O'Connell's programs, attributable in part to the retrenchment throughout the Unified School District. O'Connell's staff has declined disproportionately to its enrollment, having descended from 124 in the mid-1970s to 77 in 1980. School staffing resources "bear no relation to reality," according to one administrator.

Moreover, the O'Connell School of Technology is undeniably the politically weaker partner in its "cooperative" arrangement with the O'Connell

Community College Center, which shares the building. The initial plan to divide instructional responsibilities evenly has shifted in favor of the College Center--and community colleges city wide. While funding for the college programs is sound, the public school district is contracting and gradually pares programs from its domain. With hiring freezes, the O'Connell School of Technology must either cancel programs or transfer them to the College Center when instructors leave or funds are denied for certain programs; for example, high school instructors in watch and shoe repair retired last year, and both programs have been annexed by the College Center.

The school is further weakened by the minimal support it receives from VEA funding, which is funnelled primarily into community colleges and centers and the comprehensive high school vocational programs. O'Connell did receive funding for one staff position last year, but this hardly compares with the equipment and programs provided other vocational education institutions in the city. Finally, O'Connell does not attract the most capable San Francisco students, as based on test scores and grades. Lowell High School is viewed as San Francisco's finest academic high school, while the new School of Business and Commerce is designed to tap the "cream" of junior high schools and give the Unified District a vehicle with which to compete more effectively with the burgeoning community colleges and college centers. O'Connell accepts a student body with a wide range of capabilities and interests, an enormously difficult challenge for an institution with a constricting faculty and, in many cases, dated equipment.

Indeed, maintaining a credible curriculum despite these imposing constraints may be the greatest challenge facing O'Connell. Technological and

market changes can easily transcend the limited instructional capacity of the vocational high school; "keeping programs updated and keeping staff abreast of rapidly evolving areas--just to be aware of changes--is very difficult," conceded one administrator. It is difficult to envision O'Connell--or even a potentially more prestigious school such as the School of Business and Commerce--competing effectively with the flexibly staffed and well-equipped community colleges and centers.

The latter institutions simply have more resources: greater funding sources, more mature students, a broader range of schools and programs, more attractiveness to private employers because of these capabilities, and more diversity in staff. As opposed to high school faculties which have been frozen, gradually eliminating the newest and oldest members, and making no demands upon professional development after tenure approval, community colleges can reconsider staffing needs annually, employing part-time professionals where necessary, offering lucrative teacher benefits, and consistently upgrading staffs to provide the most modern vocational instruction possible. Certain community college centers have limited facilities and equipment, but the diverse institutions which comprise the Community College District collectively surpass the Unified School District in offering relevant instruction with sophisticated equipment.

As a result, vocational high schools such as O'Connell, and as we shall see, vocational programs in comprehensive high schools, are probably best limited to general career exploration. This approach would emphasize basic introduction into vocational areas that can mitigate to some extent the inability of city high schools to offer the most relevant vocational instruction. This would undoubtedly continue to prepare some students for

direct entry into the labor force, but would also ease and inform the transition into additional academic or vocational instruction. "We face a real problem of training kids for obsolescence," contended one school administrator. "We have to recognize our limitations, identify those static trades where we can provide helpful instruction, and jam our efforts and resources in there." Static trades well within O'Connell's instructional grasp include welding, basic drafting, carpentry, and food preparation as opposed to rapidly changing fields like electronics, graphic arts, and computer technology.

Such a realistic perception and realizable agenda might enable a school such as O'Connell to be more effective in capitalizing on its strengths, and work more harmoniously with present competitors such as community colleges and centers. Not only might instruction be more meaningful to students, but the school and district could launch efforts to bolster ties with the private sector, emphasizing that completion of an O'Connell program or comparable comprehensive vocational program provides solid basic skills which can be tapped by a prospective trainer and employer. At present, school programs and participants are an uncertain lot, with private sector relations attributable primarily to experienced faculty who help place students and obtain equipment through private sector contacts. O'Connell has enlisted an advisory council since 1975, but this had little supplemental value to the private relations cultivated by certain faculty. The Community College Center in O'Connell, by contrast, boasts close ties with labor unions and runs union-sponsored apprentice programs. Moreover, experimentation and initiative go widely unrewarded under the present system of governance of vocational high school instruction. For example, an

O'Connell staff member made extensive examination of potential alternative funding sources, but his efforts were thwarted because no funds were available to seek the funding. O'Connell did receive a grant for a computer, but was not allowed to keep it since the Board of Education decided that it had been obtained unfairly in a "competitive" process.

O'Connell and other high school vocational programs are undoubtedly weakened by such unresponsiveness to experimentation and overall stagnancy, both in terms of limiting potential quality of instruction and damaging their reputations among educators and employers. Indeed, depictions of the clumsy proceedings of high school vocational education were provided by administrators in numerous institutions. Nonetheless, the demonstrable and potential strengths of a school such as O'Connell are evident, particularly if all efforts were directed toward realistic areas of achievement. A potential worthwhile prospect, if undergirded by proper administrative reorganization and funding provision to encourage effective instruction in basic skills and static technologies, is more extensive cultivation of private sector relations. Organized labor would seem a particularly ripe candidate for participation, despite its historic reluctance to support San Francisco vocational education, in part because schools such as O'Connell possess the ethnic diversity that could assist labor-organized trades to fill existing gaps in minority training and hiring.

Comprehensive High Schools--Vocational Programs. The ironic juxtaposition of limited resources and questionable utility with a potentially purposive function is equally evident in the vocational programs of comprehensive high schools. One comprehensive school visited was comparable to O'Connell in many ways, despite the differences between their programs.

Both featured diverse student bodies and vocational curricular offerings. The comprehensive high school's student body is 36 percent Hispanic, 19 percent black, 18 percent Chinese, 12 percent Filipino, 9 percent white, 5 percent other non-white, and 1 percent American Indian. One-third of the students are non-English speaking and 21 languages are spoken in the school.

Course offerings are determined by the school staff and attempts are made to be as responsive to student interests as possible. This is somewhat difficult to achieve, however, both because of the broad student participation in programs and limited staff available. Approximately half of the school's 1,000 students take vocational courses during their tenure, and between 25 and 30 percent are enrolled in specific vocational programs. Hispanic students comprise approximately 50 percent of the enrollment in vocational courses. One administrator conceded that instructional diversity is limited in vocational areas, and that the school is not widely perceived as a place for vocational instruction despite its wide participation in such instruction. Instead, this individual emphasized, the school is perceived by students and parents as a traditional comprehensive high school, in which vocational courses are simply part of the overall curriculum. The overall fiscal decline of San Francisco USD infrastructure, in fact, is evident in the recent vocational education cutbacks within the comprehensive high school, as programs and staffs have been pared considerably.

The school is best equipped to offer introductory business skills and clerical instruction. These courses have proven consistently popular with students, and have been updated through receipt of modern typewriters and calculators, obtained in part through VEA funding. The most popular course

offerings include accounting, shorthand, data processing, and general business skills. More advanced business courses are also offered, and are attractive to many college-bound students. These business courses are well attuned to the city's growing labor market needs in downtown office buildings.

Shop-oriented vocational instruction, however, appears to be far less capably staffed and equipped. Similar to O'Connell, faculty reductions have weakened many programs. The school has graphic arts facilities but no staff to provide instruction, and programs in homemaking and food services were dropped in the past year because of staff reductions. The popular cooperative work study programs attracted 125 students last year and served as a major preparatory ground for post-graduation employment. However, the coordinator position was eliminated for this year, and it is uncertain whether the program will be offered again. If it is restored, it will largely consist of on-the-job experience with scant or no instructional training back-up.

Programs such as auto shop and machine shop are comprehensive and offer a finished skill and regular placement upon completion of the program, but like O'Connell these are attributable largely to effort of individual instructors, who work within a system that fails to encourage or reward such initiative. Similarly, the school has a cooperative relationship with a local hospital in which students participate as interns, and also benefits from the efforts of a local financial institution to provide career exploration instruction annually. In addition, a building maintenance program provides experience by performing tasks that benefit the physical appearance of their school. Each of these cases, however, is exceptional, and does not

reflect any district commitment to such experimentation. In fact, the school operates the building maintenance program secretly, fearful that union awareness of it would cause great controversy due to perceived student encroachment upon union terrain.

These exciting, exceptional cases of innovation are made even more unlikely in the aftermath of district administrative changes. The Unified District formerly appointed a direct Supervisor of Industrial Arts who served in the Central Office and filled a variety of coordination and leadership roles. "We used to have direct, realistic dealings with the central office, but now everyone is under pressure and there is no one who can be directly responsible," noted one school administrator. The absence of coordination, much less leadership, becomes only more severe upon recognition of the impediments provided by staff and curriculum reductions. "Personnel is everyone's greatest concern, because we all recognize cutbacks have started and will continue," observed an administrator. "Any instructor with less than ten years' experience has little chance of holding a position, unless there is some special qualification in math or science." In addition to staff reductions within each high school, some high schools may be closed entirely, shutting off certain vocational programs in some areas. Moreover, junior and middle high school introductory industrial arts programs have been severely slashed, meaning that students enter vocational high school courses with even less expertise than previous student generations. Once these inexperienced students arrive at a high school, they are unlikely to receive adequate counseling regarding vocational alternatives. This comprehensive school had three counselors for its entire student body, and provided no college or career counseling. The

coordinator of the cooperative work training program formerly offered counseling services, but, as noted earlier, that position has been subsequently eliminated. Interviews with principals in other comprehensive high schools highlighted the introductory and exploratory nature of vocational education curriculum. Typing is consistently considered the vocational education program best supported with effective instructional and equipment resources; quality in other programs does not compare, and declines precipitously in some cases. This dearth of curriculum depth has been a prime motivation for the School of Business and Commerce by central district top staff anxious to gather and maintain the finest vocational programs the district can muster. It also explains, in part, the ascension of the community college as preeminent vocational education delivery system.

SAN FRANCISCO COMMUNITY COLLEGE DISTRICT

Present program limitations and future financial constraints for the Unified School District have enabled the San Francisco Community College District to dominate many aspects of vocational instruction. Their diverse programs have expanded rapidly during the past decade, and threaten to eclipse any high school level vocational intruction that transcends introduction to vocational options and static technologies. Indeed, such domination has already occurred in many areas, as the community college district offers resources and programs with greater likelihood of placing students immediately into long-term employment than public school programs.

The Community College District represents a two-pronged system of educational service delivery launched by city legislative action on July 2, 1970. Under this new arrangement, all post-secondary and continuing

education for San Francisco residents were placed into two separate systems, the City College of San Francisco and Community College Centers. The City Colleege offers two-year transfer programs with lower division college credit courses. It operates on a semester system and offers Associate of Arts and Associate of Science degrees and certificate curricula. All of its programs are housed within a single campus located in the southern part of the city. Community College Centers, in turn, are separate institutions scattered about the city that offer credit-free courses in an open-ended continuing education program for adults. The Centers operate on a traditional semester in addition to flexible scheduling and self-paced, media-assisted instruction for certain programs, many of which lead toward occupational certificates. Both institutions are distinct from San Francisco State University, which is a four-year institution that offers Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees in addition to various graduate programs.

Another factor distinguishing the Community College District from the state university is the former's emphasis on vocational instruction; nearly half of the City College students are enrolled in vocational programs, while each of the eight centers is geared toward numerous types of vocational instruction. "The establishment of the separate boards provided enormous opportunity for the community colleges and centers to get actively involved in diverse vocational education programs," noted one administrator. "The different delivery systems provide much flexibility and freedom, both for our programs and our students." Several administrators conceded that the diversity of programs and institutions creates some overlap, but that course duplication is minimized. "Overlap in some areas is inevitable, but

there is a district instructional committee that tries to determine responsibilities"; for example, the community college offers registered nursing, while the centers provide training in licensed nursing.

Competition for domain over various instructional areas is understandable, but both community college and college center representatives asserted that these pressures are minimal. Instead, they emphasize that the two-tier system offers a superior vocational education environment to public high schools, because of superior facility and instructional resources, program flexibility, and additional maturity of students. "Not only do we work with older students than the high schools, but our environments are much more typical of the real world," explained one administrator. "The high schools are compulsory and that produces some problems; anyone in our programs is there because they want to learn something." Moreover, San Francisco high schools, as discussed previously, have enormous resource limitations, and have gradually acquiesced to community college programs which absorb ever-increasing areas of vocational instruction within the city. "The community colleges are driving hard, and the high schools have given in quite a number of times," observed one administrator. "The Unified district is in great disarray, and finds it difficult to maintain old programs, much less get new ones off the ground. We're here, and have things to offer both students and potential employees." Moreover, despite the dominant role the Unified School District plays in providing public educational services for students through the age of 18 years, there is no age restriction for participation in community college and college center programs. The overwhelming majority of students in these programs is 18 years and older, but there is no legal limitation that would prevent SFCCD

from providing vocational instruction to younger constituencies. The primary concern of the community college district, of course, remains the adult student body that has always been its staple. The needs of its student constituencies change frequently, but San Francisco community colleges appear sufficiently staffed, supplied, and versatile to provide both basic skill instruction and advanced vocational training, particularly when compared to their counterparts at the high school level.

City College of San Francisco. Indeed, the City College already has bulging programs in many vocational areas and has the largest enrollment of any single-campus community college in California. It serves 15,000 students in its day division, while another 10,000 participate in evening classes. The College offers 68 major program concentrations, staffed with 600 full-time and 500 part-time faculty. Degree curricula, which require 60 or more semester units, include aircraft-maintenance technology, apprenticeships, architectural interiors and technology, audio-visual services, business, chemical technology, construction management, engineering and industrial technologies, health and allied services, hotel and restaurant operation, instructional assistance, labor studies, legal assisting, library technology, ornamental horticulture, protective services, retail floristry, and visual arts. Certificate curricula, requiring between 12 to 30 semester units, include many programs analogous to those offered for degree. They also include dental assistance and administration, merchandising, office-clerical, printing technology, and real estate. All credits earned in a certificate curriculum may also be applied toward completion of a degree program in the college. Basic skill instruction is emphasized, and degree-oriented programs include general education and "learning skills"

requirements. "We try to merge basic skills with the applied skills, and the faculty seems very much interested in maintaining these standards," observed one administrator.

This blending is also obvious from an administrative standpoint, since administrators with curricular responsibilities are given diverse charges that generally include both vocational and traditional academic areas of instruction. "We don't believe in separating occupations from academics, we think it's healthy for these areas to be mixed," explained one administrator. College administrators, moreover, seem committed to maintaining a balance in faculty, retaining a sizable permanent faculty but supplementing instruction substantially with part-time teachers. This is a particular advantage enjoyed by both members of the Community College District, since it enables the administration to continuously review its instructional effectiveness and obtain faculty best suited to meet its needs on a yearly basis. The college recruits numerous leaders within specific businesses and industries to provide instruction in their areas of specialization. All City College faculty are required to have both an academic degree and experience within their instructional field. Lucrative teaching benefits enhance the college's ability to attract instructors with such diverse qualifications, as does the prestige of teaching at the college level.

The City College also benefits from the support of private sector leaders. Every College vocational program has had an advisory council since 1970, comprised of experts within each occupation who provide input on curricular and faculty matters. The extent of participation of the councils depends largely on the program and its needs; the hotel and restaurant

management program, for example, works in tandem with affiliated unions and other experts in the industry, while other programs have far less contact.

Certain centers also have been desirous of private support, but the distinct charges of each institution minimize potentially divisive struggles. Effort duplication is limited through specific designation of individual institution responsibilities. Despite some underlying tensions, the College and Centers appear to work harmoniously, directing their competitive energies toward the Unified School District and federal manpower programs, such as CETA. Both receive castigation from College District officials, because of perceived inadequacies and conviction that funds are most wisely invested at the community college level, particularly if competing delivery systems attempt to transcend introductory vocational instruction in their programs. "The school district suffered terribly under Proposition 13, and facing other restraints as well, it was forced to make some cutbacks," assessed one college district administrator, representative of community college depiction of public high schools. "Many shops were closed and vocational programs were trimmed back severely." Legitimacy of such contentions notwithstanding--although based on prior discussion they seem most accurate--frictions are most evident between the college district and Unified School District, with interaction minimal. "There is no question that better communication is needed between us, both to understand each other better and see how we can work more effectively together, but it is a two-way street," reminded one high school administrator.

College Centers. The need for cooperation between potentially competing services is particularly essential for the College Centers, as three of

the eight Centers scattered about the city are located in buildings owned by the Unified School District. Approximately 20 percent of the Center students are housed in these buildings, and Center administrators concede they would like to expand their utilization of existing school buildings for both economic and public access reasons. Each of the Centers is located in an area that possesses a constituency deemed in need of special educational services, primarily vocational in nature. More than 50 programs are offered in 10 major occupational subject areas. "Our programs are geared toward local consumers and we are somewhat impacted, with little informational distribution and great reliance on local word of mouth to attract participants," explained one administrator. This procedure seems most effective at least from the standpoint of attracting students; approximately 60,000 people enroll in these programs each year, comprising nearly one-tenth of the city's overall population.

The community outreach orientation of the Center concept is underscored by the scattering of the individual Centers throughout the city in publicly accessible facilities--including public school buildings. Moreover, each Center has a unique series of offerings, generally tailored to the perceived needs of the immediate communities they are intended to service. These Centers include: a northwest side facility emphasizing health services, the city-wide parent education program, and general training; a facility west of the downtown which is devoted to instruction of English as a second language; a facility north of downtown which provides both ESL and occupational courses; a facility northwest of downtown which offers short-term vocational training for disadvantaged San Franciscans; a far north side facility which features a wide variety of art and enrichment courses; a

facility southwest of downtown with a broad schedule of courses, many of which are bilingual and business-oriented; a south side facility which emphasizes vocational training in trade and industry areas; and a downtown facility which works in close concert with business and industrial leaders in establishing an expansive business-oriented curriculum. The emphasis on geographic diversity is further enhanced by 225 satellite centers located in comparatively small facilities scattered throughout San Fransico.

The broad dispersal of educational services requires some program limitations, both in terms of overall curricular diversity and depth of instruction within each program offered. Facilities are often limited in instructional and shop space, and heavy machinery and equipment must frequently be eschewed, located instead on the main community college campus. Course offerings are geared to the projected needs of communities surrounding the Center, although each Center has some specialized areas that attract a city-wide constituency. Locally targetted services, however, remain the major motivating force behind the Center concept. "In many cases, it is simply impossible to get people out of certain neighborhoods to take courses, regardless of how greatly they might want and need them," explained one administrator. "Initially, to get them started, you have to go to them." The Community College, therefore, works as a cooperative partner of the Center, providing the broad range of instruction and facilities necessary if that initial effort stimulates further interest and desire for training. Areas of Center specialization include extensive vocational English as a Second Language curriculum, offering ESL instruction in direct areas such as clerical skills and job application and acquisition. Individual Centers also offer programs of city-wide interest to handicapped,

incarcerated, and disadvantaged individuals, as well as elderly, women, and veterans.

The distinctiveness of Center responsibilities can also be discerned from its heavy reliance upon part-time faculty and its non-degree oriented programs. The Centers rely more heavily on part-time faculty than the Community College (Table IX), and most have business or industrial experience that is far superior to their academic experience. Many Center instructors lack formal college or university training, particularly in the industrial programs, and remain active in their profession while providing instruction. In addition, a greater minority representation exists on the faculties of the Centers than on those of the City College (Table IX). "Our instructors know what's going on within their special areas, and knew what they were getting into when they agreed to work in the Centers," observed one administrator. "They realized they were entering a type of crisis situation because of so much instructional need in the city. Even though many are only teaching on a part-time basis, they often become involved in providing job placements and employment contacts for their students. Some consider it a regular part of their job."

John A. O'Connell Community College Center. The namesake of the industrial skill-oriented high school stands predominant in city trade and industrial training programs. It is headquartered in the same building as

Table IX

San Francisco Community College District
Faculty: Employment Status, Sex, and Ethnicity

City College of San Francisco
Teaching Personnel in Vocational Education

Vocational Programs	SEX	Unduplicated count	Number of full-time and part-time vocational teachers, by ethnic classification, program, and sex											
			Full-time personnel						Part-time personnel					
			A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F
Agriculture	M	11	5						6					
	F	1							1					
Distributive	M	56	7						40	3	1	1	4	
	F	9					1		8					
Health:	M	17	3						13	1				
	F	42	16		2	1			16	1	2	2	2	
Home economics: consumer and home-making education	M													
	F													
Home economics: occupational preparation	M													
	F	6							4		1		2	
Industrial arts	M													
	F													
Office	M	42	19			1			19		1		2	
	F	34	10		1		1		16	2		1	3	
Technical	M	52	28	1	1		6		10	2	1		3	
	F	3	1		1				1					
Trade and industrial	M	101	37	2	1		2		48	2	4	1	4	
	F	11							9	2				

Ethnic Classifications: A = White (except Hispanic) D = Filipino
B = Hispanic E = Asian or Pacific Islander
C = Black (except Hispanic) F = American Indian/Alaskan native

Table IX

(Continued)

San Francisco Community College District
Faculty: Employment Status, Sex, and Ethnicity

San Francisco College Centers
Teaching Personnel in Vocational Education

Vocational Programs	SEX	Unduplicated count	Number of full-time and part-time vocational teachers, by ethnic classification, program, and sex: Full-time personnel A	B	C	D	E	F	Part-time personnel A	B	C	D	E	F
Agriculture	M													
	F													
Distributive	M	5							4	1				
	F	1							1					
Health:	M	2			1				1					
	F	31	6		5	2	1	1	6		4		6	
Home economics: consumer and home-making education	M	17							15	2				
	F	62	5		1				36	11	3	4	2	
Home economics: occupational preparation	M													
	F													
Industrial arts	M													
	F													
Office	M	120	6	2	5				78	7	4	2	16	
	F	94	8	5		1			51	4	9		11	
Technical	M													
	F													
Trade and industrial	M	143	8	1					96	18	13	1	5	1
	F	4		1						1	2			

Ethnic Classifications: A = White (except Hispanic) D = Filipino
B = Hispanic E = Asian or Pacific Islander
C = Black (except Hispanic) F = American Indian/Alaskan native

(Source: Teacher-Staff Report, SFCC , 5.80, pp. 1, 2)the vocational high school, where many of its shops and facilities are divided between the two programs. The Center also coordinates 13 satellite sites which offer additional

instruction. The programs produce an exhaustive catalog that offers a detailed combination of trade and industrial courses, and serve approximately 8,000 each year, 1,200 of whom are enrolled in apprentice programs. Each program has distinctive requirements and, in many cases, is governed in part by active advisory councils with expertise in the specific field involved.

The apprentice programs are coordinated with labor and industry, and are not publicized. Instead, program recruitment is industry contained, as students are tapped from their high schools, entered into vocational programs and apprenticed into a trade. Formal agreements between the Center and various trades and industries are limited, and many of the programs are dominated by private concerns. Trades and industries that participate in such programs regularly provide their own instructional facilities within the walls of the Center and its satellite sites and play an active role in determining curriculum, constantly revising it to respond to latest developments. The 22 apprentice programs include instruction in areas such as automotive repair, carpentry, electric wiring, painting and decorating, roofing, sheet metal work, and stationary engineering. These additional programs are scheduled to be added to the existing programs.

The tuition-free classes that attract the majority of the school's students lack the industry-determined admissions requirements, although many of the instructional areas offered are identical. In addition to extensive course offerings in automotive repair, electronics, engineering, graphic arts, and welding, the school also provides instruction in areas such as energy conservation and management, blueprint reading, refrigerator and air conditioner repair, and shoe and watch repair. The latter two were

annexed to the Center curriculum when dropped by the adjacent vocational high school due to staff reductions. Enrollment is restricted only to the extent that many of the classes have waiting lists. Classes are generally divided into beginning and advanced categories; the former requests either some prior training or experience in the field or waiver of that requirement by the instructor, while advanced classes require some previous background in the area to be studied.

Federal funding plays a comparably limited role within the Center, with its only major source of support in consumer education. "With the exception of the consumer program, VEA funding is a drop in the bucket for us," said one administrator. "Almost all our programs are district funded." This limited participation reflects an interest on the part of Center administrators to minimize contact with outside government sources due to concern for potential manipulation of programs, and a College District commitment to allocate federal resources elsewhere. Minimal federal interaction, therefore, enables the Center administration to focus on maintaining and developing its existing programs, of which it appears abudantly confident of their appropriateness and effectiveness, particularly when compared to programs at the high school level. "Private trades and industries just don't feel the return is sufficient from an investment in high school programs," observed one administrator. "Here, they can work with mature students and the program is theirs. They just cannot enjoy those things elsewhere."

Downtown Community College Center. Business' answer to the O'Connell industrial skill-oriented Center has opened its doors within the past 18 months in a new facility in the downtown business area. Many general

descriptions of the new Center--diverse programming, close private sector linkages, and rank as elite among city institutions providing such vocational intruction--are directly comparable with its elder counterpart for trades and industries.

The school enrolls approximately 13,000 students in an elaborate eight-story facility, the first high-rise educational facility to be build in California. It is called a Center, although it has somewhat different curriculum and management than other city Centers and provides non-Center accredited courses as well as traditional Center offerings. Three-fourths of the Center's students are enrolled in credit-free courses, with 21.5 percent in City College courses, and 3.5 percent in San Francisco State University courses. The Center's initial faculty was, however, drawn directly form the staffs of other city Centers, approximately one month prior to its opening in early 1979. Seventy-five percent of the present faculty work on a part-time basis, many serving as full-time employees of major city firms.

Faculty as well as curriculum are altered regularly to maximize relevance of instruction. Business and career-related courses are emphasized and comprise over 90 percent of the approximate 300 courses offered. General subject areas include accounting, banking, communications and language arts, computer studies, court reporting, labor studies, legal studies, mathematics, real estate, secretarial science, and supervision and management.

Center development is attributable largely to downtown business articulation of need for a significant centrally-located facility designed to meet many of their prospective employment needs, and community college

district decision to review programs, determine those most appropriately located centrally, and gather them within one major facility. The result thus far has been a Center abundantly supported by the district, private sector, and targeted Vocational Amendment Act funds.

This trilateral support is evident from the impressive building and equipment which has already been swelled beyong maximum designed capacity of 10,000 students. The Center cost $9.1 million to build and equip, and features modern classroom space and learning laboratories with updated computer and office machinery equipment. Support from the business community was particularly valuable during the final stages of development of the Center proposal and the opening of the institution. Proposition 13 limited Center funding in several areas, including elimination of promotional expenditures, which proved especially damaging when the Center opened during the middle of the traditional school year. Nevertheless, its classes have filled quickly and consistently since its inception in early 1979. Advisory councils remain active, and provide services that range from job placement to public relations expertise. Similar to administrators of the O'Connell Center, the direct participation of private sector leaders in advisement is deemed most worthwhile by Center administrators. This process undergirds the Center's role as a dominant force in provision of business education in the city. "The Center responds to downtown interests in the tailoring of its programs, and brokers its services as needed," explained one administrator. "While programs offer starting instruction at any level, the Center cuts in at a higher level than most other institutions. It is too expensive to do anything else."

Federal Policy Effects on San Francisco

Federal policy does not play a dominant role in either San Francisco vocational education delivery system. Many of the programs offered by LEA's are recipients of federal funding through the Vocational Education Act, and their policies are influenced to some extent by federal guidelines. The evolution of most local programs, however, is primarily attributable to local political developments, state and local resource availability, and the constituencies attracted to the programs.

VEA fund allocation in San Francisco achieves the "supplementing not supplanting" role intended by the legislation. Fund utilization is somewhat more integral to the SFUSD, largely because of the relative scarcity of resources, but is still channelled largely toward less prominent and essential programs; there is, of course, less overall money to obscure the limited federal share. The SFCCD, however, can be more selective--and strictly supplemental--in its employment of VEA funds. Both institutions, however, share a receptivity to--if not embracement of--federal VEA money, an attitude which will probably be illustrated in upcoming years as debate continues over state procedures for allocation of existing federal funds.

State Allocation and Planning. California's state allocation formula for VEA funds was changed substantially in 1978. The historical split of VEA (54 percent secondary, 46 percent community college) was unaltered, although it is increasingly contested by postsecondary officials. The secondary allocation among school districts, however, was revamped to eliminate the rural bias and preservation of traditional shares based on a pre-1970 project by project competition.

The Unified School District received $410,751 in Subpart II grant money for fiscal year 1979-80. District programs obtained supplements of $42,220 for program improvement and supportive services, $22,151 for special programs for the disadvantaged, and $50,695 for consumer and homemaking education. Table X provides a more precise outline of SFUSD funding through VEA.

TABLE X

	District Total
Subpart #2	
Unrestricted	$278,946
Restricted	
Disadvantaged	82,274
Handicapped	49,531
Subpart #3	
Disadvantaged Students	14,563
Vocational Education Personnel Training	10,644
Guidance and Counseling	10,001
Handicapped Students	7,012
Subpart #4	
Seconday Programs and Services	22,151
Subpart #5	
Secondary Instruction	29,286
Economically Depressed Areas	21,409
Total	$525,637

The Community College District received $717,901 in VEA funding for fiscal year 1980-81. More than half of this, $418,063, was acquired as "unrestricted" funding under Subpart II. The District also received substantial funding "restricted" for the handicapped and disadvantaged. College centers received slightly greater overall funding than the City College of San Francisco, largely on the basis of their share of restricted

grants for disadvantaged, limited English-speaking groups and economically depressed areas. Table XI discusses Community College District funding from VEA in greater detail.

TABLE XI

Distribution of VEA Grant Funds--San Francisco Community College District

Fiscal Year 1980-81

	Estimated District Total	Centers	CCSF
Subpart #2			
Unrestricted	$418,063	$188,128 45%	$229,667 55%
Restricted			
Handicapped	67.860	33,930 50%	33,930 50%
Disadvantaged	108,211	78,994 73%	29,217 27%
Limited English Speaking	11,570	11,570 100%	No Qualifying Program
Subpart #3			
Counseling/Sex Equity	64,857	32,48.5 50%	32,428.5 50%
Subpart #4			
Disadvantaged	28,313	14,156.5 50%	14,156.5 50%
Subpart #5			
Economically Depressed Area	19,027	19,027 100%	No Qualifying Program
Regular:	(8,236)		
Economically Depressed:	(10,791)		
Grant Total:	$717,901	$378,234	$339,667

Each of the allocation formulas used to distribute federal vocational education funds to LEA's consist of three factors: low-income families and individuals, participation and impact, and relative financial ability. Figure I illustrates the balanced nature of these three components of the formula. Subpart II funds are allocated by formula with disadvantaged and limited English-speaking populations as important determinants. This new state formula helped cities in general and San Francisco in particular. Consequently, San Francisco cannot anticipate significant increases in present VEA allocations, even should federal support to education be maintained at current levels in the 1980s.

Figure I --Local Educational Agency (Secondary)
Subpart II, Basic Grant, Allocation Formula

FACTORS

Low-Income Families/Individuals	Vocational Education Participation	Relative Financial Ability

$$LEA = TA \cdot .34\left[\frac{5 \cdot \frac{AFDC_{LA}}{\Sigma AFDC_{LA}} + \frac{LES_{LA}}{\Sigma LES_{LA}}}{6}\right] + .32\left[\frac{\left(\frac{VAU_{LA}}{\Sigma VAU_{LA}}\right) + \frac{VAU_{LA}}{ADA_{LA}} \Big/ \left(\frac{VAU_{LA}}{ADA_{LA}}\right)}{2}\right] + .34\left[\frac{\frac{SWABRL}{BRL_{LA}} \cdot \frac{ADA_{LA}}{\Sigma ADA_{LA}}}{\sum\left(\frac{SWABRL}{\Sigma BRL_{LA}} \cdot \frac{ADA_{LA}}{\Sigma ADA_{LA}}\right)}\right]$$

Definitions:

LEA	= Local Educational Agency
AFDC	= Aid for Dependent Children
LES	= Limited English Speaking
VAU	= Vocational Attendance Unit
BRL	= Base Revenue Limit
ADA	= Average Daily Attendance
SWABRL	= State Weighted Average BRL

(Source: State Report, 1980)

The federal contribution to San Francisco vocational education expenditures is not expected to exceed ten percent in future years, the proportion around which it hovered in the late 1970s. Nonetheless, it may make more

substantial impact on local policy, however circumscribed, than local vocational education administrators tend to acknowledge. Individual schools show definite signs of responsiveness to federal legislation, whether in the formulation of local advisory councils, targetting federal funds into counseling or specific bilingual and handicapped programs, or offering some programs designed to address curricular sex discrimination problems. This local response will be further illustrated in subsequent pages and tends to suggest that the Vocational Education Act and amendments have served not merely as a funding tool, however limited their overall role.

Indeed, the California Legislative Analyst underscored this finding in a 1977 assessment of state vocational education programs. It emphasized the largely benign state role in governance matters not pertaining to funding and concluded that federal laws and regulations had filled much of the policy-establishing vacuum left by the state. Its dominant financial role notwithstanding, California was criticized for lacking comprehensive vocational education legislation. "A clear statement of program goals and objectives applying to all levels of vocational education does not exist," reported the Analyst. "Program priorities and functions are not well-defined." (Analyst, p. 14)

The state response to federal regulations has been largely perfunctory. The Legislative Analyst emphasized that required plans "in the past have been largely oriented toward compliance with federal regulations rather than toward comprehensive planning." (Ibid., p 11.) This is a major problem in that the plans are intended as documents with far-reaching impact. They are expected to determine the formula for allocating California's federal funds to local districts, the division of funds

between various funding categories, and the priorities within particular funding categories. The lackluster production of such documents means that the state provides little encouragement and coordination of programming and planning. Its acquiescence often facilitates a confrontational situation between the federal government and local authorities, who are expected to comply with numerous regulations in order to obtain desired federal revenues yet receive little state guidance in the process. The local response, as observed in San Francisco, is to assuage potential frictions wherever possible. Local administrators provide information and pursue fund requests deemed likely to satisfy federal regulations and administering bureaucrats. Funds through the Vocational Education Amendments are generally targeted, both in secondary schools and community colleges, toward new equipment and programs. Local educators concur that these allocations are desirable, but also are favored because they are expected to encounter the least resistance from federal officials.

Indeed, it can be argued that state vocational education policy-making has been subsumed by a multitude of other competing concerns. "A continuing problem in vocational education has been the fragmentation and duplication among training programs provided through a multiplicity of institutions," contended a 1977 examination of state vocational education. (The Legislative Analyst, 1977, p. 30). The study observed that state level administration of vocational education may be ineffective and myopic due to service overlap and duplication. Both the Department of Education and Community Colleges Chancellor's Office have extensive staffs, components of which could be merged. Competition for adult vocational education is

especially striking, because both high schools and community colleges mount recruitment campaigns for similar or identical courses. This is not as significant a problem in San Francisco as in other California cities because of the relative weakness of the Unified School District. It is detectable, however, in the growing USD School of Business and Commerce, which may offer some CCD competition.

A 1980 Report by a Task Group with a California Legislature charge to study state vocational education and youth employment training echoed the 1977 Analyst findings. "Substantial fragmentations of funding and administrative procedures among programs" were discovered and deemed counterproductive to their intended purposes. They observed:

> These various programs and deliverers of vocational education and employment training are subject to a variety of differing funding provisions, administrative regulations, and reporting and evaluation requirements. For example, different time periods govern planning and funding cycles for various state and federal programs. For some programs, funding levels can be anticipated in advance, while for others, funding amounts may not be known until well into the pertinent fiscal year. Application procedures differ for virtually each program, as do specific accounting procedures and required measures for evaluating program effectiveness. (1980 Task Force, p. 5)

The Task Force Report confirmed San Francisco findings that inter-institutional awareness is marginal. General perceptions of what transpires elsewhere exist, but are sketchy and supported by minimal direct exposure. An elaborate, perplexing structure for state overview of these programs (Appendix - Fig II) illustrates the myriad of programs and responsibilities undertaken by the state in vocational education and manpower training programs; local vocational educators find mastery of their own

specific programs and constituencies sufficiently engaging without becoming conversant with other programs and prospects.

Federal Impact in the Unified School District. Limited perspective and decision-making latitude is particularly evident in vocational education administration in the Unified School District. Staff flexibility and resource availability are too limited to permit experimentation and innovation with federal dollars. VEA funds are scattered throughout the city, particularly to comprehensive high schools which operate certain vocational education programs; they are supplemental and are generally used to plug holes in an increasingly leaky container of programs.

Federal fund impact in the comprehensive high schools, however, appears limited because the funds are stretched among so many institutions. They are viewed as a mixed blessing by some administrators. New equipment or personnel, particularly in counseling, are often acquired but are insufficient to overcome the countervailing pressures for retrenchment felt by high school administrators. In fact, school building administrators are generally unaware of the specific federal funding sources that are tapped. They make specific requests directly to the central administration, some of which are approved and supported through VEA funds. New equipment and materials, according to one administrator, are "never externally imposed upon us." However, acquisition of new equipment or personnel do not always prove worthwhile over an extended period. Other school resources, often supervisory personnel already in short supply, must be extended to integrate the new resources into the institution. Necessary flexibility is often simply beyond the reach of building administrators.

Central administration alterations have also dampened the effectiveness of federal funding, according to one school building administrator. Overall central staff cutbacks have stretched work loads and impaired effectiveness. Vocational educators find the removal of a Direct Supervisor for Industrial Arts position in the central office due to budget cutbacks a particular problem. Not only are school building administrators often unaware of external funding sources that might exist, but they must follow an increasingly unreliable and unpredictable path to central administrators who could respond to their questions.

The central administration response has been to scatter available funds as widely as possible in an attempt to give as many potential users some supplemental funding. This is also understandable upon realization that there have been no particularly dominant institutions in secondary vocational education. Despite the recent advent of the School of Business and Commerce, which received some federal funding for equipment and other areas, services are dispersed throughout the comprehensive schools. Indeed, local high schools often have large vocational programs, at least as measured by numbers of students taking one or more vocational classes. The O'Connell School of Technology provides some rationale for significant amounts of federal funding with its concentrated vocational student body but has not been treated as a special case. It shows no greater sign of federal assistance than most comprehensive high schools, and lacks the prestige or political clout necessary to effectively lobby for a large share. Moreover, the wide dispersal of glaring needs overshadows the dilemmas of the specialized vocational school.

Community College District. The comparative affluence of the District is reflected in a somewhat different attitude toward federal funds. VEA funds are seen as exclusively supplemental and spent primarily for non-essentials. District administrators uniformly express contempt for federal strings attached to VEA funds and generally minimize their importance. VEA-funded programs, however, are evident throughout the District, and some seem to enable some innovative expansion.

Federal support through the Vocational Education Act has been invested largely in new equipment. Funds have historically been divided evenly between the City College and the College Centers, although the Centers have gradually assumed a larger share because of additional equipment investment in recent years. The College will receive approximately 45 percent of the District's funds this year, and will apply it primarily to equipment once again. "Equipment money is generally scarce in the district, and it is often needed both for old and new programs," explained one administrator. "Besides, the feds tend to strangle you with all kinds of regulations and we find that allocating the money to equipment is the easiest way to use it. Just the paperwork alone in other areas of potential expenditure tie you in such knots; it seems far less worthwhile to attempt to use it in other ways."

Both City College and College Center administrators assert that federal funding guidelines impair the potential effectiveness of the expenditure by demanding excessive local request preparation and data accumulation for proposal documentation. This process devours staff time and encourages abandonment of certain potentially valuable project proposals because of exhaustive requirements. "Much of the money is specific, categorical, and there is tremendous time-lag between application

and acquisition of funds," explained one administrator. "The money is merged into our general fund, but the entire process is kept apart from our budget planning."

Requests for specific items, such as equipment or personnel such as a counselor, are often initiated by local Centers or programs. Administrators concede they try to minimize bureaucratic inertia and excessive inquiries into fund allocation by "massaging" statistics where possible and presenting a depiction of the local situation designed to appease and satisfy federal officials. "Most of the aid goes into non-essentials, things we would like to have but could conceivably do without," explained one Center administrator. "If federal funds were suddenly withdrawn there would probably be no need for us to remove or severely alter any present programs we consider really important." That assessment was confirmed by site visits to Community College Centers. One Center received relatively little funding and allocated its limited receipts to a single program; another received significant funding found helpful for new program implementation but not critical to overall institutional welfare.

The potential for VEA funds to serve as a supplement enabling program expansion and experimentation is perhaps best demonstrated by the Downtown Community College Center, into which so many local public and private resources have been poured. Federal funds have been consistently used to provide exclusively supplemental services and instruction. The new Center has been rewarded more generously than many of its Center counterparts, and initial federal funds were directed toward purchase of equipment for its computer studies program. The 1980-81 fiscal year VEA budget calls for an additional expenditure of $73,292 for the Center's computer studies

program. Other Centers also tend to use VEA funds to patch curricular or equipment weaknesses: a learning skills center will invest nearly $20,000 in tutors and equipment for a language lab; a bilingual learning center will invest $58,430 in tutorial instruction; the O'Connell industrial training Center will use $25,887 for a mechanical maintenance program for women. federal funds neither provide a catalytic function, nor have great influence on governance and curriculum, but do appear to fill in funding gaps and make possible institutionally desired programs. "If something specific is needed, the school usually pursues the matter with the district and attempts to have federal funds directed toward it." Federal interaction, therefore, is deemed optimal when minimized yet paying maximum support funding possible.

Vocational English as a Second Language:

A Burgeoning Community College District Enterprise.

The inevitable eclipsing of the Unified School District by the Community College District in vocational education is also evident in areas of vocational English as a Second Language instruction. Community College Centers and their satellites, in fact, appear the most likely delivery systems for ESL expansion, particularly into vocational areas. Initial program experimentation has been facilitated in part through federal funding, some of which has been targetted toward supplemental tutoring services. The public schools will undoubtedly continue to offer their numerous programs in vocational education, but will probably lack the resources necessary to make an elaborate response to burgeoning ESL demand. The Unified District has been intensely involved in the ESL debates for more than a half-decade. A 1974 U. S. Supreme Court case (Lau vs. Nicholas)

involved 3,000 Chinese-speaking children in San Francisco, and ruled that students from families where English is not the main language are entitled to participate in special programs. The District responded quickly to the ruling, and presently one secondary and three elementary schools provide exclusively ESL instruction. Some form of bilingual instruction was provided for 12,000 of the school system's 57,000 students last year, requiring District expenditure of $13 million, two-thirds of which was derived from local sources.

The 1974 Court decision, of course, did not mark the first insertion of ESL instruction on the local agenda, but did serve to gather unprecedented attention on the issue in San Francisco. Community College District entry into the ESL issue has been phased in gradually since the early 1960s when language centers were developed and eventually expanded under a variety of funding programs, many of them federally-oriented. Certain centers were phased out and "replaced by a district-supported Vocational ESL program that served all immigrant portions of San Fransico's multi-ethnic, multicultural, and multi-lingual adult population," according to a District Vocational ESL Master Plan (San Francisco Community College District, 1979, p. 139). The impetus for Vocational ESL in San Francisco included the recognition that non-English speaking individuals needed not only linguistic assistance but introduction to various vocational alternatives as well. Vocational ESL, therefore, attempts to apply typical bilingual instruction methods, but focuses instruction on vocational concerns. Language objectives, therefore, "are always contextualized into job-finding and work-related situations." Courses emphasize both skill and job application information as well as more direct training in vocational areas.

Actual instruction of Vocational ESL is somewhat comparable to traditional ESL, although specific areas of language expansion and comprehension are targeted, and, in many cases, some mastery of English is expected. Introductory courses include telephone training, filing skills, office mathematics, typing and beginning clerical. Electives also include courses with specific job acquisition and retention themes, labelled "Getting a job," "Holding a job," "Moving ahead," and "Test taking." Many of these courses can be aligned into a Vocational ESL certificate program that supports a student's job application with some official recognition of the type of training completed. These certificate programs differ among the various centers involved, general program goals, and specific needs of the student, but are generally comparable and require between 234 and 640 hours of course work for completion.

Nonetheless, Vocational ESL remains a relatively minor component of the overall Community College strategy to provide language instruction to non-English speaking residents of San Francisco. The District provides instruction in "Survival ESL," categorical vocational instruction which hinges largely on staff availability, and more advanced ESL designed to elevate English skills to enable participation in traditional academic programs.

The limited role of the categorical vocational instruction was illustrated through visitation of a large College Center with five satellites which offers 225 ESL classes, and has extensive waiting lists for all its classes. It is not a major center for Vocational ESL courses and is limited to typing classes and a federally-funded Indochinese Training Program. Specific categorical vocational instruction has proven difficult to

implement, largely because of limited funding and staff availability. "Demand for all of our ESL is gigantic and has been for a long time," explained one Center administrator. "But we do lack money, facilities, and teachers, and vocational ESL is a particular problem. It's hard enough to get a bilingual person willing to teach, much less one with a trainable vocational skill. And it's all very political, so we often have questions about getting deeply involved in it."

Vocational ESL does, however, remain a major area of curricular experimentation for the Community College District, and has been headquartered in the impressive facilities of the Downtown Community College Center since 1979. Indeed, San Francisco Vocational ESL has already produced a spinoff, billingual/vocational education. This provides extensive job training in a bilingual instructional environment which "stresses maintenance of and further knowledge about the parents' language culture at the same time that it presents the second language culture." Federal funds have been obtained to experiment with this in certain city centers, and administrators in the District Master Plan observed that "bilingual job skills instruction has shortened the length of training time." (Ibid., p. 141.)

Federal funding has also enabled the Community College District to expand Vocational ESL instruction for specific immigrant groups, particularly recent refugees from Southeast Asia. Chinese and Spanish remain the greatest areas of emphasis for ESL in San Francisco, but a wide variety of languages are blended with English in District courses. In the ESL-oriented center visited, languages include Cambodian, Laotian, Vietnamese, Korean, Iranian, and Russian, in addition to Chinese and Spanish.

Sex Stereotyping. The sweeping federal commitment to overturning sex stereotyping in vocational education curriculum made in the 1976 Amendments has not had a monumental impact in San Francisco. Programs traditionally dominated by one group, such as office occupations for women and industrial skills for men, generally continue to attract that group into programs. For example, community college centers enrolled 888 men and only 28 women in carpentry in the 1979 academic year; stenography and secretarial skills attracted a comparably dominant proportion of women. Such unequal sex distribution throughout vocational enrollments was evident in both the Unified School District and Community College District.

The sluggishness of change in these patterns is perhaps best depicted by review of the O'Connell School programs offered within the same building by both delivery systems. More than 80 percent of USD O'Connell students and nearly 95 percent of the Center's students are men, within general curricula dominated by courses traditionally taken by men. Administrators at both institutions acknowledge that changes have been slow, and note that some curricular areas lack any female representation whatsoever. The inability to recruit significant numbers of women to certain programs appears to be a concern of administrators, aware of potential federal repercussions for failure to break long-standing barriers. "We are making attempts but in some cases, we just cannot attract women to the programs," explained one administrator. "And some cultural groups say no; for instance, a Latino female welder is simply unheard of."

The federal presence, however, has had some impact on breaking historical logjams of participation in vocational prgorams. Not only do administrators recognize the federal concern over equal access, but have also

tapped some VEA funds for special projects designed to encourage women to enter new instructional areas. This is particularly evident within the Community College District, a comparatively ripe place for such progress; its relative resource health, decentralized services through college centers and satellites that are accessible to most citizens, and program flexibility enable it to be more amenable to sex discrimination breakthroughs.

The 1980-81 fiscal year VEA allocation for the SFCCD included approval of $33,796 for a Women's Resource Center and $6,356 for remedial support services for women. The O'Connell Community College Center received $29,282 for a mechanical maintenance program designed specifically for women. Although this is not tantamount to the high level training--and skill employability--of traditional O'Connell trade programs, it is designed as a first step to provide new skills for women and potentially attract them to participate in more substantial programs. O'Connell also received a supplemental grant of $10,500 to obtain equipment for the program. Administrators at the school, similar to administrators of both secondary and community college schools throughout the city, did not display a burning desire to fulfill the anti-sex stereotyping mandate of the 1976 Amendments. However, they did consistenly demonstrate sensitivity to the problem and a commitment to make their programs as open and receptive to newcomers as possible; they uniformly depicted progress in breaking through sex stereotypic barriers, though conceding such change has been gradual.

Advisory Councils. The advisory councils requirement of the 1976 Amendments have neither proven an enormous hardship for local vocational education institutions to implement nor made a striking impact. Some

semblance of external advisement was evident both in the Unified School District and Community College District institutions. However, it is difficult to discern the extent to which the councils represent a direct response to federal requirements or general recognition of the benefits to be derived from outside participation.

Advisory councils and private sector support have proven instrumental to the development of some of San Francisco's premier institutions. The Downtown Community College Center owes its existence in large part to extensive private support and advisement; private sector embracement of the institution has clearly rivaled the contributions of the federal government in guaranteeing the health of the new school. The O'Connell Community College Center relies on private sector advisement in its curriculum, and, indeed, its programs are shaped largely by the ideas generated in various program councils. Even within the struggling Unified School District, the School of Business and Commerce has cultivated active private sector support and participation on councils; our visit to the school was interrupted by planning for an appreciation luncheon for private supporters of the schools.

However, the recognition of need for these private sector alliances appears to have been primarily generated locally. Federal law might have provided a nudge, a substantial one in some instances, but the most prominent councils suggest a strikingly local source of origin. Indeed, the pattern of advisory council development greatly resembles Chicago, where the most prestigious schools are supported by the most meaningful local support. Other relatively uninfluential institutions have created advisory councils, but these relationships are far less lucrative. These

perfunctory councils may provide opportunity for input, particularly from parents, but we received no indication that these bodies play a prominent role in guiding planning in the less-than-elite vocational institutions in San Francisco. Commonality of councils or council-like bodies notwithstanding, the institutions which benefit most from external advisement are those most capable of flourishing on their own. The mere creation of councils appears to guarantee little in the way of local participation and support--unless the school has distinctive attractions in its own right.

CETA: SUPPLEMENTAL VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Vocationally-oriented programs provided through funding of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act further underscore the eclectic, unpredictable qualities of San Francisco politics. They do not compete directly with alternative programs at the high school and community college levels, but are conducted by a multitude of community groups who aggressively compete for supportive funding from CETA. Central program administrators, similar to their bureaucratic counterparts in other public city institutions, attempt to appease all factions by distributing program resources as widely as possible. "CETA has become a political entity driven by community-based organizations," observed an administrator of the community college district. "They have been pushed and pulled in every direction by groups who want part of the action. They have had excellent leadership, which has bargained with each of the groups and kept things going."

Job training and introduction through CETA-affiliated programs in San Francisoc is comprised of numerous forms, including traditional public service employment and youth employment as well as various training programs contracted with local groups.[2] Instruction is presently offered in

clerical and secretarial skills, journeyman chef training, home health assistance, licensed vocational nursing, drafting, emergency medical technology, word processing and data entry, apprentice painting, and reprographics. English as a Second Language, motivational, and literacy instruction are also offered at various locations, and ESL has consistently boasted high enrollment and "success" rates for the past several years. Approximately $44.7 million in CETA funds were spent on San Francisco projects in 1980, including $22.8 million for public service employment and $21.9 million for adult and youth training programs. San Francisco CETA employs 2,300 individuals in public service jobs, with 1,895 participating in adult and youth training programs.

Select components of the myriad of CETA activities undeniably overlap with programs offered at alternative levels, particularly the community college centers. Nonetheless, most CETA programs are geared toward community constituencies not likely to enroll in traditional academic instructional programs. "We see ourselves as providing a missing piece of training," explained one CETA administrator. "Some individuals simply do not acquire the skills they need through their participation in various schools, and we attempt to respond to their needs, and complement the efforts provided in the secondary schools and community college programs." Indeed, CETA attempts to both augment and cooperate with the Unified School District and Community College District by contracting some of its training programs with them. "We're not at all at odds with school officials," explained a CETA administrator. "Of course, we do have our limits and would like to be able to do more, just like the others."

Cooperation with school institutions that offer vocational instruction is very slight. Instead, community groups serve as the primary recipients of CETA contracts for instruction. Unlike some other major cities, CETA operates no "skill center" of its own in San Francisco, and subcontracts presently with 65 community-based organizations scattered throughout the city. CETA finds such arrangements politically necessary because of the disparate sources of power that exist within the city. These interactions, in turn, prove valuable to CETA, which is often viewed with a jaundiced eye in other cities; the community-based groups are able to work with familiar constituencies, paving the way for CETA funding. Supported financially through CETA, they are able to take advantage of their prominent local profile to attract participants and provide instruction within specific communitites instead of relying on outlying centers. This approach is somewhat comparable to the outreach philosophy of the Community College Centers, but is more neighborhood-oriented because of the large number of programs involved and community group responsibility for the instructional opportunities offered.

Vast resource scattering is also characteristic in the deployment of funds for public service jobs sponsored by CETA, as approximately 250 subcontracting agencies carve up the positions made available. The Unified School District participates in the placement of some of these workers within city schools, but has far too much competition to be a dominant factor in this program. "CETA consists of a marvelous hodgepodge of groups and interests," explained one administrator "We have begun to phase out many of our weaker contracting organizations, but find in many instances

that community based groups can simply outtalk and outyell the establishment."

Such vociferous competition extends to the youth services programs offered by CETA as well. The Mayor's Office of Employment and Training staffs a youth services office that features counseling and training, in addition to job search workshops and summer youth employment. Approximately 5,000 San Francisco youths were active in CETA-funded summer jobs in the summer of 1980, scattered among numerous community-based organizations, many of which received more than 150 summer employees. Similar distribution occurs in adult on-the-job training, although many private for-profit institutions are included, and generally fewer numbers of workers are allocated for each participating organization.

CONCLUSIONS

Funding will be the key to San Francisco vocational education during the 1980s. Certain programs will expand, others will contract, and the primary catalyst of change will be the funds that various delivery systems can command and allocate. Student and market demand for vocational training will undoubtedly shape many aspects of the eventual vocational education package. However, they will continue to be confined within institutions preoccupied with maintaining existing programs and unable to match the geometric program expansion and experimentation of the 1960s and early 1970s.

This new-found restraint will continue to be most evident in the Unified School District. San Francisco has never been known for the quality

of vocational education in its public schools, having scattered most programs and instructors about comprehensive high schools located throughout the city. Certain specialized institutions emerged in the 20th century, but these rarely achieved distinction and most were eventually dissolved. From this limited base, debilitating program and staff reductions have been made within the last half-decade. Retrenchment weakened vocational instruction that was largely introductory in nature and unable to maintain pace with rapidly changing technological needs and labor market demands. The scenario for the next ten years appears even more gloomy, as concomitant budget and enrollment declines will produce additional program reductions. In this contractive process, program quality and instructional excellence are rarely protected; instead, the most recently hired staff and some expensive programs are the first to go, regardless of the relative effectiveness.

The recently-developed School of Business and Commerce would appear an exception to the confined role of the Unified School District, but instead serves to underscore the prior contentions. The school was designed primarily as a last-ditch measure to gather outstanding vocational education resources possessed by the District against the oncoming tide of district decline and mounting competition from the community college system. The school is likely to maintain a relatively small enrollment, and will rely on numerous cooperating institutions, including other public high schools, the private sector, and, conceivably, the community colleges. Indeed, the School represents Unified District recognition of its reduced status in vocational instruction, and targeted effort to salvage at least a limited role in high-level training. Remaining public school vocational education, however, will increasingly be general in tone and rudimentary in nature.

This confined role, of course, need not be inconsequential. It could be supplemental to--and not totally subsumed beneath--the more elaborate offerings of the community college system. The city's Community College District enjoys comparative funding health and programmatic and staffing flexibility. Moreover, it features dual delivery systems: the main community college campus and decentralized college centers and satellites. The former can offer comprehensive vocational instruction with modern equipment and facilities, while the latter can respond directly to local community needs in vocational instruction. These systems provide an impressive list of vocational education opportunities, many of which offer "finished" skill training and vocational certification upon program completion. Many also boast intimate linkages with prospective employers. They easily surpass the limited, introductory nature of instruction offered in the public schools.

The Unified School District could most effectively coexist as a smaller partner in vocational instruction by providing general career orientation and exploration and some introduction into general skill development. It could emphasize typing and clerical training, general machine and business skills, and job performance expectations, in addition to developing basic skills and awareness of vocational and academic alternatives beyond high school. This would seem to respond reasonably to its instructional limitations, and also tailor it more meaningfully to existing post-high school programs, including those offered by the Community College District. Community Colleges would be encouraged to accept youth under 18 for finished skill training.

A cooperative emphasis between the two largest delivery systems would benefit the constituents of both. Vocational programs in the public schools and community colleges tend to coincide autonomously in San Francisco, with CETA programs comparably independent. At present, cooperative ventures are limited primarily to college center rental of several public school buildings for instruction. Tensions currently exist regarding School of Business and Commerce enrollment of adults (this perceived as the primary jurisdiction of community colleges), and college center enrollment of some students less than eighteen. No codification exists that prohibits either development, but community college administrators belittle the School of Business and Commerce and Unified School District vocational programs, while public school adminsitrators are determined to keep their enrollments as high as possible. Both systems have distinguishable capabilities and limitations and could improve effectiveness of service delivery with shared perception of those roles, particularly through placement of students into the most suitable programs regardless of overlapping jurisdictions. Cooperation might also facilitate more effective job placement of vocational students, a service performed sparingly at present.

Federal participation in this process of competing terrains is limited. Vocational Education Act funding is a welcome addition to base funding, but is not essential for the maintenance of on-going large programs. "Most of the aid goes into non-essentials, things we would like to have but could conceivably do without," observed one College Center administrator whose remarks were representative of those found at all levels of San Francisco vocational education administration. But federal funds play a vital role in providing seed money for new occupational areas

or approaches. This appears true for the more financially circumscribed Unified School District as well. Federal funding, therefore, is largely a supplement for local delivery systems providing marginal money for innovation.

VEA also carries the adverse impact of distracting local administrators from their primary responsibilities. Individuals at all local levels, from top level administrators to school-building principals and instructors, denounced complex multiple guidelines and information requests as placing a further damper on the limited utility of federal vocational education funding. Local administrators concurred that their primary effort is to appease federal examiners as much as possible and to limit the impediments placed on their time and the eventual allocation of funds. Direction of funds into "safe" areas such as equipment purchase or program development, regardless of its comparative need for other funding alternatives, is seen as a necessary trade-off to limit local administrative time in securing federal funds. A passionate resentment of federal red tape was the common feature of all our respondents. On the other hand, federal VEA is playing a helpful role in spurring new programs or approaches. It is not buried in old-line traditional occupational programs.

Footnotes

1. A variety of resources were employed in preparation of this report. Documents and publications pertaining to San Francisco vocational education are cited in the References section. In addition, interviews were conducted with officials at both the top administrative and school-building levels in the Unified School District and Community College District, as well as CETA. Visits to numerous vocational education institutions and examination of facilities and equipment were coupled with these interviews.

2. CETA programs administered through the San Francisco Mayor's Office of Employment and Training include: on-the-job training; public service employment; skills training in various occupations; English-as-a-second-language instruction; summer youth employment; and youth services such as counseling, training, job search workshops, and work experience.

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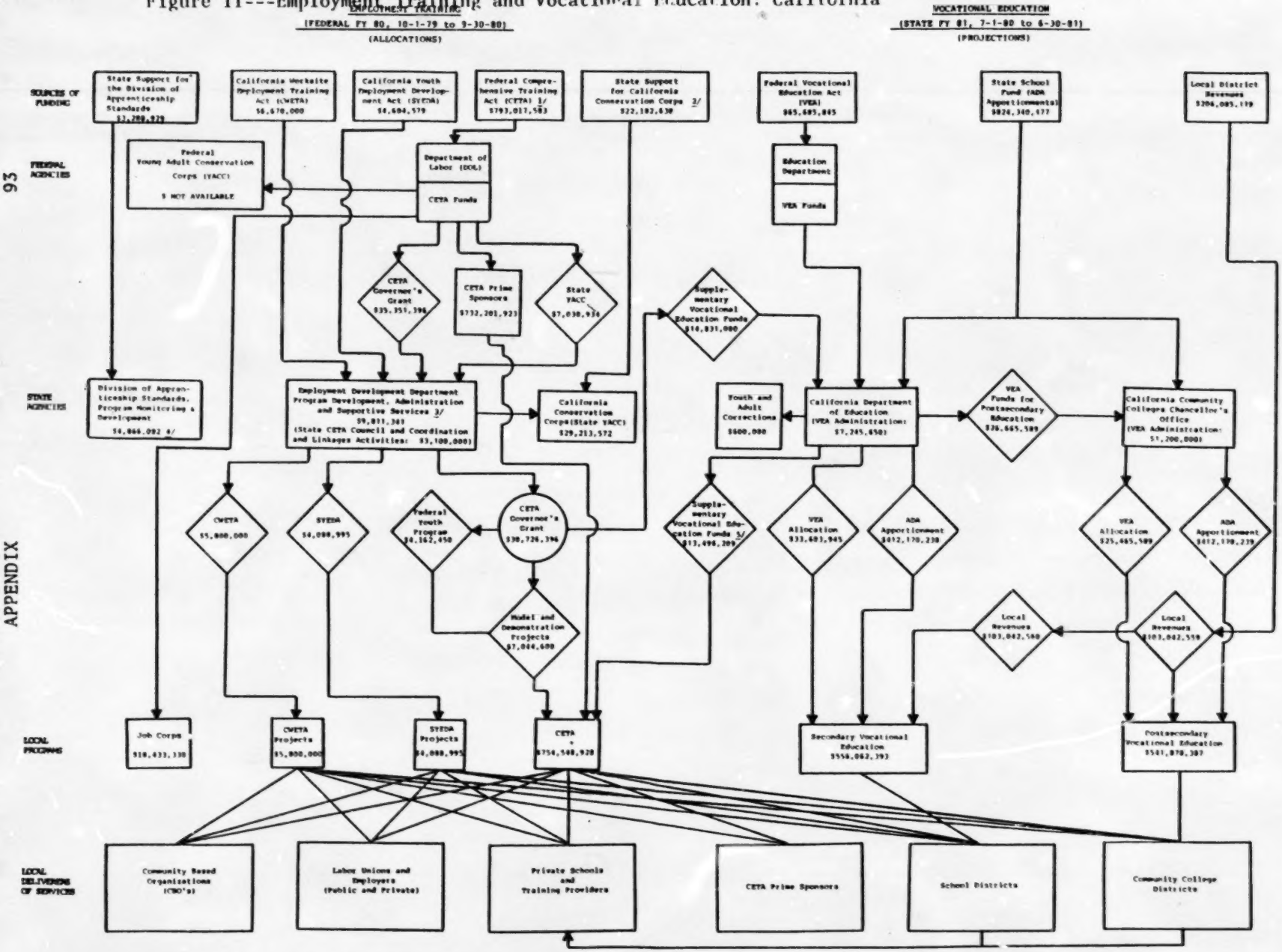
Figure II---Employment, Training and Vocational Education: California


EMPLOYMENT TRAINING
(FEDERAL FY 80, 10-1-79 to 9-30-80)
(ALLOCATIONS)
VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
(STATE FY 81, 7-1-80 to 6-30-81)
(PROJECTIONS)
SOURCES OF FUNDING
FEDERAL AGENCIES
STATE AGENCIES
LOCAL PROGRAMS
LOCAL DELIVERERS OF SERVICES
State Support for the Division of Apprenticeship Standards $2,288,929
California Worksite Employment Training Act (CWETA) $6,670,000
California Youth Employment Development Act (SYEDA) $4,604,579
Federal Comprehensive Training Act (CETA) 1/ $793,017,583
State Support for California Conservation Corps 2/ $22,102,630
Federal Vocational Education Act (VEA) $65,685,845
State School Fund (ADA Apportionments) $824,340,477
Local District Revenues $204,085,119
Federal Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) $ NOT AVAILABLE
Department of Labor (DOL)
CETA Funds
Education Department
VEA Funds
CETA Governor's Grant $35,351,396
CETA Prime Sponsors $732,201,923
State YACC $7,030,934
Supplementary Vocational Education Funds $14,831,000
Division of Apprenticeship Standards, Program Monitoring & Development $4,866,092 4/
Employment Development Department Program Development, Administration and Supportive Services 3/ $9,811,363 (State CETA Council and Coordination and Linkages Activities: $3,100,000)
California Conservation Corps(State YACC) $29,213,572
Youth and Adult Corrections $600,000
California Department of Education (VEA Administration: $7,245,650)
VEA Funds for Postsecondary Education $20,665,589
California Community Colleges Chancellor's Office (VEA Administration: $1,200,000)
CWETA $5,800,000
SYEDA $4,000,995
Federal Youth Program $4,162,450
CETA Governor's Grant $30,726,396
Supplementary Vocational Education Funds 3/ $13,498,209
VEA Allocation $33,683,945
ADA Apportionment $412,170,230
VEA Allocation $25,465,589
ADA Apportionment $412,170,239
Model and Demonstration Projects $7,004,600
Local Revenues $103,042,560
Local Revenues $103,042,559
Job Corps $18,433,330
CWETA Projects $5,800,000
SYEDA Projects $4,000,995
CETA $754,548,928
Secondary Vocational Education $550,062,393
Postsecondary Vocational Education $541,870,387
Community Based Organizations (CBO's)
Labor Unions and Employers (Public and Private)
Private Schools and Training Providers
CETA Prime Sponsors
School Districts
Community College Districts

1/ Does not include some Title III monies which are discretionary to the Secretary, Department of Labor, and Title VIII Federal Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) monies for which information was presently unavailable.
2/ Total includes reimbursements.
3/ Includes Governor's Grant, State and Federal youth projects funded within EDD.
4/ The Division of Apprenticeship Standards is within the Department of Industrial Relations. The total includes additional Federal funds and reimbursements. Funds are used for individuals of varying ages. Source: Governor's Budget 1980-81.
5/ Includes $2.42 million for CETA RFP's and not allocated.

Fiscal Information Sources:
Employment Development Department and State Department of Education Staff

Note: Additional related funding sources (over $250 million) and providers of service are listed in Appendix B.